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Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-90-166
Monday
27 August 1990

Daily Report
Soviet Union

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Disarmament Spokesman Batsanov Interviewed

PM2408103590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Telephone interview with S. Batsanov, USSR representative at Geneva disarmament conference, by correspondent G. Deyev: "Can Disarmament Conference Disarm Us"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] We think that this way of raising the question is correct, considering that in contrast to the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional arms in Europe and the bilateral Soviet-U.S. talks on strategic arms, the disarmament conference in Geneva is the only global forum of this kind. What is its point in the USSR's opinion—that is the question which IZVESTIYA correspondent G. Deyev put to S. Batsanov, USSR representative at the conference, linking up with him by telephone in his office in Geneva.

[Batsanov] In my view, he said, the conference is a quite mature negotiating forum: It has been in operation since 1962 and in its present form since 1979. Some 40 states, including all five nuclear states, have become members of the conference.

The conference's agenda is a sufficiently wide range of problems of disarmament, including the banning of nuclear tests, the prevention of an arms race in space, nuclear disarmament, the banning of chemical weapons, and so forth. But real talks at which the breath of a future universal all-embracing convention can be sensed already are being conducted only on chemical weapons.

In my view, for all the importance of the dynamic development of the disarmament process in the East-West context, including between the USSR and the United States and in Europe we should not forget that the 35 participants in the all-European process will not be able to create a security basis for themselves if the arms race continues and instability increases beyond their borders. Iraq's aggression against Kuwait has become a sorry confirmation of that. That is why the Soviet Union is vitally interested in ensuring that bilateral and regional disarmament is backed up by the relevant measures on a global scale, since there are problems which can be definitively resolved only at such a global forum.

[Deyev] What will the future conference on chemical weapons give us?

[Batsanov] The elimination of an entire class of weapons of mass destruction which in terms of its characteristics presents a danger primarily to the civilian population, since in contrast to modern armed forces this population is not provided with effective means of protection against a chemical attack. The convention will also provide the certainty that chemical weapons will not appear in ever new countries, including close to our borders which, unfortunately, is happening. In addition it must not be forgotten that chemical weapons, even if they are not used, present a considerable threat to the ecology of the entire planet.

[Deyev] What is now delaying the completion of the drafting of the convention?

[Batsanov] There are not that many unresolved problems remaining at the talks but they are of a fundamental nature and a quest for package compromises, so to speak, will be needed to resolve them. It is primarily a case of elements like inspections on demand, the inclusion in the convention of a provision on the nonuse of chemical weapons, the ensuring of its universal nature, the rendering of aid to the victims of the use of chemical weapons, and the problem of international cooperation in the field of the peaceful use of chemicals. In the opinion of many delegations taking part in the talks, the final coordination of a convention would be greatly promoted by holding, within the framework of the disarmament conference, a special conference of foreign ministers devoted to talks on chemical weapons. France, for instance, has already suggested holding such a conference early next year.

[Deyev] What is the role of the bilateral Soviet-U.S. agreement on chemical weapons signed 1 June by M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush on the content of the future convention?

[Batsanov] In my view it attests primarily to the readiness of the USSR and the United States to assume leadership in the elimination of chemical weapons. The most important element of this agreement was the two states' renunciation of the further production of chemical weapons. For us that means not only that the dangerous and destabilizing program of the United States' chemical rearmament, based on the production of new binary chemical munitions, is being halted but also that the Soviet Union will now specifically not be compelled to spend funds on producing chemical weapons and subsequently to spend even more money on destroying these selfsame weapons. Of course, on the condition that the agreement is approved by the two countries' parliaments and enters into force.

[Deyev] But we will still have to destroy the chemical weapons which have already been produced. And that is a complex, expensive, and ecologically dangerous process. Do we have the power to fulfill the commitments we have assumed regarding the destruction of chemical weapons?

[Batsanov] There is no way for us to avoid the destruction of chemical weapons, even if there were no agreement with the Americans. After a while we would still have to begin the process of destroying obsolete stockpiles, or they would be turned into a terrible threat primarily to those regions where they are concentrated. Those same Americans had elaborated and begun to implement programs for the destruction of old chemical weapons long before the opportunity appeared for concluding a bilateral agreement. The expenditure which we will inevitably have to incur in implementing the ecologically clean process of eliminating chemical weapons is nothing compared with the potential consequences of chemical catastrophes.

[Deyev] How is the Soviet side preparing for their destruction?

[Batsanov] The draft program for the destruction of chemical weapons, in whose elaboration the Defense Ministry, Foreign Ministry, Ministry of the Chemical Industry, Ministry of Health—about 20 departments in all—took part has now been submitted for examination in the USSR Supreme Soviet. It contains several options, including options which differ in terms of the number and siting of establishments for the destruction of chemical weapons.

Frankly, I fear that the different power structures may be carried away by prolonged debates about the level at which a particular specific decision should be taken. That is why it is important to think about creating legislative bases for the Soviet program of destruction.

Negotiator on Need for Chemical Convention

LD2508001290 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS Correspondent Boris Shabeyev]

[Text] Geneva August 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Boris Shabayev: A summer session of the Conference on Disarmament, which lasted two and a half months, ended at the Palace of Nations in Geneva with obvious signs of new elements in its work, Sergey Batsanov, head of the Soviet delegation, told TASS.

Until recently the activity of the conference was marred by many elements of routine. Now many delegations want to boost the efficiency of the conference, he said.

"We have successfully finished the first stage of consultations to reform the conference and agreed that we will start holding three and not two sessions every year in 1991. [as received] They should be shorter and more intensive sessions, interspersed by rounds of talks on banning chemical weapons. The number of plenary meetings will also be reduced."

Another important element is creating a special committee to ban nuclear tests, which has long been demanded by the USSR and other countries. It is not a matter of elaborating a relevant treaty now, for which some countries, including the United States, are not prepared. But it is possible to begin work on the essence of the test ban problem.

There has been some progress on one of the main issues on the agenda of the conference—the elaboration of a comprehensive convention banning chemical weapons and eliminating stockpiles. One has to admit that the possibilities of attaining further progress on technicalities of the future convention in the framework of the conference have been exhausted. They depend on the need to take political decisions clearing the way towards settling outstanding technical problems. This has prompted the French to propose a special meeting of the conference at foreign ministers' level. There was a positive response to this proposal. The Soviet delegation also supported it. The relevant preparatory work has already begun in the framework of the special committee on chemical weapons.

Asked whether the crisis in the Gulf and, particularly, Baghdad's threat to use chemical weapons if the conflict exacerbates affected the work of the conference, Batsanov said that any statements concerning the possibility of use of chemical weapons, no matter who made them, are inadmissible. They can in no way improve the international situation and build up trust between states. These developments confirm how dangerous chemical weapons are and add urgency to the need to complete work on the comprehensive convention concerning their full prohibition and elimination.

Norway Receives 'No Promises' on Nuclear Testing

PM2308150690 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 15 Aug 90 p 3

[Report by NORSK TELEGRAMBYRA: "No Clarification Over Nuclear Base on Novaya Zemlya"]

[Text] Foreign Ministry Under Secretary of State Knut Vollebaek was given no promises that the Soviet nuclear testing program will not be moved to Novaya Zemlya when he met yesterday with representatives of the Soviet authorities. However, the rumor that a Soviet nuclear test is imminent was denied.

During the talks with Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev and disarmament department head Anatoliy Belov it was stressed that the Supreme Soviet has not yet reached a decision on the matter. At present a special Supreme Soviet committee is looking at the consequences of using two possible nuclear test sites, one of which is Novaya Zemlya. The committee will report back to the government, which will then advise the Supreme Soviet.

"I do not think therefore that there is any reason to expect any immediate surprises. It will take a fair while, perhaps months, for the matter to be decided," Vollebaek told NORSK TELEGRAMBYRA.

He said that the Norwegian authorities, who have raised the matter with the Soviet authorities four times, want an open process where there will be contacts between parliaments in addition to contacts at the government level.

UN, U.S. Activities in Gulf Crisis Discussed

LD2508131890 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 24 Aug 90

["Top Priority" program with Andrey Kortunov and Petr (Glatkov), political analysts from the Institute of the United States and Canada Studies in Moscow, and moderator Sergey Goryachev]

[Text] [Goryachev] Good evening ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to Top Priority, Radio Moscow's panel discussion. I am Sergey Goryachev. Today's Top Priority are developments in the Persian Gulf, of course, where the situation seems to be worsening every day. Joining me in the studio for the discussion are two political analysts from the Institute of the United States and Canada Studies here in Moscow. To my left is Andrey Kortunov and a newcomer here is Petr (Glatkov). Petr deals with United Nations matters, is that correct?

[(Glatkov)] Yes

[Goryachev] What's your position there?

[(Glatkov)] I'm a head of section that deals specifically with the international organizations and with the United Nations.

[Goryachev] United Nations, this is very important for us today because it seems to me that a lot in the Persian Gulf crisis depends on the United Nations. There is no doubt that we are witnessing, it seems to me, a remarkable cooperation between the Soviets and Americans in the area. If we look at the superpowers' efforts to resolve this crisis, this cooperation is very often characterized as unprecedented. Indeed, look, the Soviet Union has joined America in condemning the invasion of Kuwait; the Soviet Union, again along with the United States, demanded that all the troops should be withdrawn from Iraq. [as heard] Now Moscow has voted again with the United States that mandatory sanctions should be imposed on the Iraqi regime so it seems to me that the final objectives of the Soviet Union and the United States, and that is to restore the status quo in the region, these final objectives are the same. But it seems to me that the ways with which the two countries are trying to achieve it are different. Is that correct and what do you think about that? Go ahead Andrey.

[Kortunov] Well, I think it is evident that the goals and the approaches of the Soviet Union and the United States towards this conflict can not be just the same.

[Goryachev] Are you talking about the goals or about the means?

[Kortunov] Well even about the goals. I think that if we are speaking about the goals, the Soviet Union is more inclined to reach some compromise with Saddam Husayn and, as far as I understand the American position, I think for the United States it would be better to see some coup d'etat, some, you know, some change of regime in Iraq altogether because it is clear that even if this crisis is over, even if we can strike a deal, a compromise, Saddam Husayn will remain one of the most aggressive and one of the most persistent anti-American leaders in this region.

[Goryachev] And you say the compromise with Saddam Husayn could be reached by the Soviet Union, do you agree Petr with that? It is very hard to accept.

[Kortunov, interrupting] Well I am not—I am not speaking about the Soviet Union as such. I was speaking about the international community. I think that Saddam—the ideal option for the Soviet Union is to see Saddam Husayn just step back and withdraw from Kuwait and reach international compromise.

[(Glatkov)] Speaking of the international community, a certain thing struck me when you were talking about the Soviet Union and the United States in the Persian Gulf, this is not—it is a kind of a— well, forgive me please Sergey, to me it is a kind of remnant of maybe old thinking, political thinking, because now it is not a matter of the Soviet Union or the United States, it is not for them to decide, now it's a matter of the international community and of the United Nations [word indistinct].

[Goryachev] Well this is probably a bit of an idealistic approach. In the long run, the United States and the Soviet Union play a very important role in the United Nations and in the world so much depends on their position, that's why we are discussing them.

[Kortunov] Yes, and I would add that even the sanctions approved by the Security Council are valid just because we have a basic understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States because otherwise the United Nations would be just paralyzed.

[(Glatkov)] Yes, that's right that's the state of affairs now but the problem is now to change things so that it is not the Soviet Union and the United States that play the major role in the—on the international arena. The problem is for the United Nations to become much more active and effective. [words indistinct]

[Goryachev] This would be good of course but so far the reality is that the United States and the Soviet Union are playing the key role and it seems to me that the heart of the matter, if I am correct, is that whether the Soviet Union and the United States believe that there is room for a diplomatic settlement or if they believe that what's left is a military option or the use of force.

[Kortunov] Yes, I think this is the heart of the matter and in fact here we can see the basic difference between the Soviet and American position. I think that the Americans are much more persistent and that they are much more inclined to use force to put Saddam Husayn into the corner. And the Soviet Union would be satisfied just to see Saddam Husayn withdraw.

[Goryachev] Petr, what do you think could be the diplomatic moves, diplomatic moves which were not used before.

[(Glatkov)] Well this is a problem because, because we are not used—we are not used to these diplomatic moves and diplomatic means of resolving conflicts like that. Previously, we witnessed all kinds of military pressure on—well in different parts of the world. Now, when it's high time to play diplomatic games we see that there is a lack of diplomatic initiative.

[Goryachev] Right, diplomatic games are harder to play of course than military games but what can these moves be, these diplomatic moves, what can we hope for?

[Kortunov] Well I think that of course we can do much more through the United Nations. I think that some of the institutes of the United Nations can be revitalized.

[(Glatkov)] Yes, you are talking about this organization which is called the United Nations Military Staff Committee.

[Kortunov] Exactly. I think that the basic idea of the United Nations founding fathers was to use this body as a substitute for individual actions by member states of the United Nations, and I think that some, you know, some resistance on the part of Arab nations to the American presence, military presence in Saudi Arabia, near the—near Mecca, Medina—shows that probably a multilateral approach, approach based on the use of the United Nations, would be better than just action by taken by the United States and its...

[Goryachev, interrupting] Now look, this body was created in 1945 under the United Nations Charter. It has never been before called into action. Petr, can you tell us a little bit more as to what the functions of this United Nations Military Staff Committee are and in what way do you think it can help.

[(Glatkov)] Well, actually, the idea of this subcommission was to help to implement the decisions of the United Nations, to use multilateral military force. But the problem is again that in the atmosphere of confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States, all these key players did all their best just to make it ineffective. Now with the new level, with the new spirit of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United Nations it is high time, to my mind, to revitalize not, maybe, not only this mechanism but to think about some other mechanisms of implementing, of using maybe international multilateral forces to enforce the decision on [words indistinct].

[Goryachev] When you say, when you speak about the multilateral forces, the multinational forces, you speak about the actual forces under the flag of the United Nations. Is that correct?

[(Glatkov)] Yes, you're right, that's correct.

[Goryachev] The United States keeps saying that this is not a confrontation between Iraq and the United Nations, and the United States. It is a confrontation between Iraq and the world community. That's on the one hand. On the other hand, the United States refuses or seems unwilling to put their military forces under the United Nations flag. Isn't that a contradiction?

[Kortunov] Well, I think that for the United States, the time is pressing too hard and they understand that the mechanism of the United Nations is not perfect, that it will take some time for the United Nations to activate its forces and its powers. So I think that people in the United States believe that they can waste this time. And at the same time, I would say that the presence of American troops in Saudi Arabia costs the United States a couple of million dollars every day, and therefore they cannot afford just to sit and wait till the United Nations takes some major decision on this subject.

[(Glatkov)] Yes, and it is not only the matter of money, I would say, it's a matter of losing face, the great power of the United States in the Persian Gulf. And it's a matter of trust of the public.

[Goryachev] Look, the recent opinion polls show that about 75 percent of those polled support President Bush's handling of the situation in the Gulf and this is likely to change if American troops will have to remain there for an indefinite period of time, or for a long period of time. So there is a temptation to use the formula it's now or never and use a military force. It's very dangerous.

[(Glatkov)] That's why the United States and the United States', well, presence is so active in the United Nations, trying to make the Security Council to adopt a new resolution on the use of minimal, as they say, minimal force in enforcing the embargo.

[Kortunov] Probably there is also a difference between the Soviet Union and the United States in their evaluations of Iraq's behavior. Probably the United States is ready to play the chicken game, just to press, pull Saddam Husayn harder and make it clear that the United States is ready for a war. And the Soviet Union probably in acting with leaders like Saddam Husayn understands better that it is very dangerous to push these people too hard because they can take some nonrational actions, and it can really spark off a war and nobody can predict the consequences of this war in the Gulf, not political, military consequences and not even economic consequences of this action.

[(Glatkov)] With all those awesome military arsenals in the Gulf, with all those talks about the chemical weapons Iraq possesses, well, I'm afraid to think about the consequences of pushing President Saddam Husayn into the corner.

[Goryachev] OK, in the editorial on Friday, 24 August, the NEW YORK TIMES mentions, and I quote: There is fear in the West that the Soviet Union is playing for time to protect its client and reap benefits for higher prices of its own substantial oil and gas exports. That's serious. What do you think about that?

[Kortunov] Well, you know, I guess that there is an idea in the Soviet Union to try everything possible to speak to Saddam Husayn and to convince him to take some actions that could resolve the situation peacefully. At the same time I don't believe that we have a major economic interest in keeping the prices up. Of course, we can gain a couple of billion of dollars by having these prices up, but at the same time we are not in a position, we are not interested in having major economic recession in the West because it will influence western capabilities to help the Soviet Union, to help perestroyka and to help Gorbachev.

[Goryachev] It seems to be that by approving the United Nations Security Council resolution on the mandatory sanctions against Iraq, the Soviet Union has suffered economically a little because it had to freeze or probably withdraw some of its agreements with Iraq. It's been its major client for a couple of decades.

[Kortunov] Exactly, and the Iraqi debt to the Soviet Union, I think it makes about $4 or 5 million, something like that, so now the chances that this debt will be repaid by Iraq are less (?agile).

[(Glatkov)] Let's look again. It's not only the problem of money. It's also the problem of ethics or morale in the politics. It's not very easy for the Soviet Union. You've got to understand the position, the stance of the Soviet president, so it's not easy just to say we changed our ways so [words indistinct].

[Kortunov] But the Soviet Union has changed its position or at least it's been definite against the invasion and the Soviet Union has joined the sanctions.

[Goryachev] Yes.

[(Glatkov)] And I would praise, I would praise the president and our, of our foreign policy, of our makers, the people in foreign policymakers, for a very careful and step-by-step approach to Saddam's positions.

[Kortunov] But you are speaking legally. We have an agreement with Iraq as you know.

[(Glatkov)] Yes.

[Kortunov] And we are in foremost position to assist Iraq as much as we can, but at the same time, as far as I understand, there is a provision to consult with each other in case of international crisis and I doubt very much that Saddam Husayn consulted with the Soviet Union before the invasion.

[Kortunov] Yes, this is what was stated by the Foreign Ministry spokesman. The invasion was a surprise for the Soviet Union as well as for the United States.

[(Glatkov)] Yes, but, as far as—but some American papers, I think, speculated that the Soviet military consultants in Iraq knew beforehand about the plans.

[Goryachev] Actually, I don't believe that.

[Kortunov] Well, I think that, of course, you cannot hide a concentration of troops at the border, you cannot hide preparation for the invasion. I think that all the international community had its own suspicions about a possible invasion, but it is very difficult to distinguish between preparations to use force and preparations to blackmail your neighbor and Iraq is known for blackmailing its neighbors.

[(Glatkov)] Especially, yes, especially knowing the habit of President Saddam Husayn's use of harsh rhetoric.

[Goryachev] Now, very quickly, gentlemen, our time is running out. NEWSWEEK magazine puts a question on its cover on its latest edition: Will It Be War? Well, in your view, what should be done now by the Soviet Union, by the United Nations, by the United States, as to—how to avoid war. Very quickly. Andrey Kortunov.

[Kortunov] I think we should make it clear that we will be persistent in implementing international sanctions.

[Goryachev] Yes, Petr?

[(Glatkov)] Yes, the most important thing now to show the international will to go against [word indistinct] and actions like those taken by Iraq.

[Goryachev] Well, thank you very much. That's it, another edition of Top Priority, presented by Sergey Goryachev. My guests here in the studio were Andrey Kortunov and Petr (Glatkov), both gentlemen from the United States and Canada Institute here in Moscow. Until next week, goodbye.

'Observers Roundtable' Views Situation in Gulf

LD2608142390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 26 Aug 90

['International Observers Roundtable' program with Alexandr Yevgenyevich Bovin, IZVESTIYA political observer; Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, political observer; and Viktor Nikolayevich Levin, Moscow Radio commentator]

[Text] [Levin] We are all anxious about the events unfolding in the Persian Gulf area. Our listeners know of course about the actual facts, and so in today's program we will not bother to recount the sequence of events, but instead will attempt to analyze why the situation has arisen. And the main thing is that we will attempt to look ahead.

[Bovin] On the question of the reasons: It is, in fact, a very different world and a different historic time. How many months is it now that we have been rejoicing over the fact that we have detente, disarmament, that everything is OK with the Americans; that we have seen an end to the Cold War; Gorbachev has been going over to visit Bush, and Bush has been coming over to visit Gorbachev; and everything's just fine. Sometimes you have to remember that somewhere seemingly over the horizon, apart from Europe and America, there is a huge Third World which is totally different, where everything is different. Different laws are in operation. Things happen in a different time warp. We say that Clausewitz is old hat, and that war is not a continuation of politics. But there everything is as before. War is a continuation of politics. There you have it.

And now once again Saddam Husayn has made us face up to this most enormous problem. You are all concerned over there with the Cold War, with the fact that there is no cold war, with detente. But he believes that you should go to war for your interests. And that is what he has done. Well, of course, there is a whole package of problems facing him. He believes he won the war with Iran. But by and large I doubt if in Baghdad people are all that certain that they won in those eight years. And so he needs some sort of 100 percent patent success, in order to become more firmly ensconced on his presidential throne, where he is not all that secure, I would say. So, he needed a sort of lightning victory. And I sometimes think that now that the Americans are his main opponent, [changes thought] I remember Panama and Grenada. That's who Husayn has copied his program from! He's grabbed, hit, seized, and now just you try doing anything about it!

And that's what he has done—first in order to consolidate his position within the country. And second, he has designs on the leadership of the Arab world. With the seizure of Kuwait, that is roughly 40 per cent of the world's known oil reserves which he will control. And he can thus control the price of oil on the world market and have Europe and Japan by the throat....

[Levin] The United States.

[Bovin] The United States less so...

[Levin] But nevertheless...

[Bovin] Yes, nevertheless, even though the United States are less dependent....

[Levin] The Americans are presently talking first and foremost about the oil.

[Bovin] And in the Arab world, he is undoubtedly the leader. And that is also a very important point to him. Plus, of course, all the arrogance and unbridled ambition is characteristic of a Third World leader. And not just a Third World leader, either. That, then, is the assortment of reasons that prompted him to act in this way. And he thought he could simply attack and everything would sort itself out.

[Levin] What do you think, Aleksandr Yevgenyevich, has he taken everything into consideration, or has he miscalculated?

[Bovin] Of course he has miscalculated. That is beyond dispute. The only thing that is not certain is when this will become clear. Because the fact that he had miscalculated over Iran became clear within a couple of months, when they had been halted. As for now, it will also become clear that he must withdraw from Kuwait. The most terrible thing that he could do just now would be to let all the foreigners—all the hostages—go. Take them by all means! I don't need them!

[Levin] No, for the time being he is doing something quite different.

[Bovin] Yes, Yes! I realize that. But no! Let us just suppose for the sake of argument that I were in his shoes, what would I do?

[Levin] Somehow that's hard to visualize!

[Bovin] Yes, but I would free the hostages. Of course, it would be a gesture of humanity! Or let them carry on working—it would be no skin off my nose, and I would even improve the conditions! But excuse me, Kuwait is ancient, original, Iraqi territory. We don't want Saudi or anything else....

[Levin] But Saudi Arabia is equally a part of the original Iraq....

[Bovin] No, no that's not the point. This is where the difficulty lay. Just try, well, just imagine—God forbid!—that something is done to the Americans. As far as the Americans are concerned, they would have to strike out. But what if there was no such excuse? For instance, Aspin has said that Bush at present has no political mandate for an attack. No. And things could really drag on for a very long time...

[Levin] I am not convinced that Bush wants to [word indistinct]

[Bovin] Ah, that is another matter. But if American soldiers sit around for months on end in the desert, then there will be pressure on them to return home. You see what could happen?

[Levin] One American agency has already reported that in Saudi Arabia the Americans are coming up against another adversary, and that is boredom.

[Bovin] Well, boredom is bad, and so is the heat! And Nikolay Vladimirovich...well, I'll just say this, and then-...about three days ago I had a telephone call in the morning and there was this excited voice, a foreigner I know, a correspondent. Listen, he said, is it right... the deputy prime minister of Iraq has already been here; the rumor is that he has told you that they would give it to 'Arafat. They will give it to the Palestinians. The Jews won't be kicked out of the West Bank anyway! We will display Arab solidarity. This land will be an independent Palestinian state. Let 'Arafat organize an independent Palestinian state on this land. Is that true, he said. I said, listen—forgive me, but in the first place I don't know, and in the second place I can't believe that you have phoned with that rubbish! Some people's imagination seems to stretch in the most unbelievable directions. The knot is so complicated and tangled.

[Shishlin] On the subject of Iraq's aggression against Kuwait, I believe there is something else that is apparent, aside, of course, from the frightful political miscalculation by the Iraqi leader. The way I see it, this miscalculation was mostly that the possible reaction of the world community was gauged inaccurately. In this particular instance, I mean the permanent members of the Security Council, and the Europeans and the Asians, and the same might even be said of many Arab countries. And of course what is striking is that the Soviet Union and the United States have, by and large, been working together well within the framework of the efforts being undertaken to put an end to the aggression, restore Kuwaiti independence, and restore power to the legitimate Kuwaiti Government. And even though, as you know, there have been all sorts of reports in the past few days that cracks have started to appear in the Soviet-U.S. interaction over the Security Council discussion of the American resolution relating to the use of force to inspect Iraqi vessels and vessels en route to Iraq in order to ensure an effective embargo—I believe the reports of cracks have been exaggerated. By and large, taking all the parameters of those actions that are being taken, the Soviet Union is adopting a wholly upright position based on loyalty to the charter of the United Nations and to the norms of international law.

[Bovin] Incidentally there is a difference here. We are relying on collective action under UN auspices, while the Americans are pinning their hopes on their own might. Good luck to the United Nations, but we will do better by ourselves. That is roughly the attitude.

[Shishlin] That is not the whole story. The United States is also trying to use the United Nations. It realizes, of course, that through the United Nations it can involve the Soviet Union in a more organic cooperation. And the Soviet Union has its own opportunities to exert influence on Iraq. Although it is clear—and I am sure our listeners are very well aware of this—that, of course, in an ideal world it would be as well if this crisis could be resolved through political means, and diplomatic means, so that peace might return to the Near East. But I think...

[Bovin, interrupting] That would mean Saddam withdrawing from Kuwait.

[Shishlin] Yes, without any hedging. Without any hedging. But I believe that this crisis has shown yet again just how urgent it is that some new steps, new efforts and new initiatives should be taken to overcome the Near East crisis as a whole. For this is the nursery of ever more fresh explosions; the cradle of ever more conflicts. Sasha has just been telling us about his conversation with a foreign journalist. All sorts of fantasies are brewed up there in the Near East. And it is with sorrow that I must remark there is no unity among the Arab countries—even over what would appear to be the most flagrant aggression. There is no unity among the Arab states! And therefore above all we must today seek a way out by overcoming this aggression of Iraq's, but at the same time we must perforce think about a broader political settlement in the Near East that would bring peace both to the Arabs and the Palestinians and, of course, to Israel.

[Bovin] Yes, Israel has a presence somewhere in this, as it were, because what Iraq has done so far on the face of it works in Israel's favor...

[Levin] Unquestionably.

[Bovin]...because the widening of the split in the Arab world has again diverted attention from the Palestinian problem toward this new conflict. But there is another side to the coin. Imagine the following possibility. If Iraq is now forced into a corner, imagine it deciding to hit Israel via Jordan, in order to undermine Arab-U.S. unity. It would immediately be broken. Then Israel would be the enemy, and the Americans would not be able to count on the Arabs. And that is why Tel Aviv is so nervous at the moment, because this possibility of Israel itself being drawn into the actual conflict, thus straight away putting the whole thing into a different plane, cannot be ruled either.

[Shishlin] And then if you put yourself in the shoes of a resident of Israel, you can no doubt understand what degree of danger threatens Israel when it has close at hand such a belligerent neighbor, that possesses missiles with a range of something like 500 km, a neighbor that has chemical weapons and makes abundant statements that it would use these chemical weapons without a second thought. And you will know that the Israeli chief rabbi has now even permitted orthodox Jews to shave their beards, because in the event of chemical warfare gas-masks will have to be worn, and, as it turns out, it is not all that possible to use gas-masks if you have a beard. This is an amusing sideline, as it were, but it is a dramatic sideline, in fact, a dramatic sideline. So it seems to me that in vast measure it now depends on Moscow, Washington, Beijing, Paris, London, and the entire world community whether we really are going to pass this test as we should, as a civilized world community able to render assistance to the victim of aggression and to halt this aggression.

[Levin] We have touched on the topic of Israel here. It seems to me that the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait has also introduced a large number of new elements into the stance of other Arab states and has made a solution to the Israeli problem even more difficult.

[Bovin] The Palestinians have backed the aggression.

[Levin] Yes, and in doing so they have unequivocally put their money on force. This does not bring peace closer.

[Bovin] 'Arafat backed the aggression.

[Levin] There is of course this point. And yet we have said until know, and with full justification, that if the issue of Israel's relations with her Arab neighbors is not resolved, there can be no stable peace in the Near East. And at a time when there seemed to be certain improvements in the way events were going, [changes thought] after all, we all remember that the PLO finally recognized Security Council Resolution No. 242 laying down Israel's right to free existence, and condemned terrorism. The political prerequisites for dialogue began to emerge in Israel itself. Yes, Likud does stick to an extremist stance, but realistic voices have begun to be heard more and more often. But now the situation, it seems to me, is such that these realistic voices are being drowned, and the PLO's position of support for Iraq is grist for the mill of the Israeli extremists.

[Shishlin] Well, it seems to me that the whole picture there has completely changed. It altogether seems to me that we should appraise anew the whole system of our relations with the countries of the Near East because everything now looks different. Our relations with Saudi Arabia look different, the prospects for our links with Egypt are opening up in a new way, our relations with Syria might also look different, and our relations with Israel might look different too, as might our relations with practically all countries.

[Levin] I think those with Iraq should also look different.

[Bovin] Yes, as it were, this is our friend, this Iraq. And we have a treaty of friendship and cooperation. But now we all need to think, our diplomats in the first instance. We have tied our hands too tightly with this friendship and cooperation. We have too many such friends who, in general, may involve us in such unpleasant situations. We have had sufficient courage here, despite the fact that there is a treaty, to say no, we are against this aggression, we condemn it, and so on and so forth. But when, let us say, Iraq attacked Iran we did not then have enough of this courage. We remained silent then, we did not welcome this inside, of course, but on the whole we took a kind of neutral position. Although this mechanism was operating even then, a neighboring country was suddenly attacked. Well, it was a different matter then....

[Levin] Well, incidentally, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, you mentioned Iraq's war against Iran. We know that Saddam Husayn—both to guarantee himself a firmer position on the border with Saudi Arabia, so as not to feel under threat of a dual strike, and probably also to play on anti-American sentiments—has now declared that this is it as far as Iran is concerned, there is now complete peace, all of Iran's conditions are accepted, and these conditions have now already been practically fulfilled. But what do you think, will the question not arise among Iraqis: for what reason did we wage war for so many years and lay down 800,000 lives?

[Bovin] I began with this, that it was precisely the war with Iran that undermined Husayn's position in Iraq, because despite the fact that he speaks loudly about victory, everyone understands that this is no victory.

[Levin] And he has acknowledged this now as well....

[Bovin] And now he has acknowledged that he has accepted practically all of the conditions, that is, the complete status quo has returned. So of course, of course, that is it, but for this we need a small victorious war. So, everything is connected here. But he needed here simply to guarantee himself from this side, to reconcile himself with Iran, he has several brigades of troops there as it is.

[Levin] Two hundred and sixty thousand.

[Bovin] In order to reach, if necessary, the south. This is what is important for him. And second, in order to guarantee the friendship and neutrality of Iran, at least. And third and fourth and 10th, if there really is a blockade and an embargo then perhaps Iran will not agree with this and some goods—oil and so on are there—may be obtained via Iran. Perhaps there is such a calculation here.

[Shishlin] Well, I think that the issue of the internal stability of Saddam Husayn's regime in itself is a serious issue. In general it should be said that a repressive regime sometimes possesses an enviable stability. We may recall, for example, Chile, and we may recall other regimes, including some quite close to us. We will not enumerate these now, all the more so as we are now speaking about another region. But our listeners probably know well that Iraq, apart from the fact that it waged a war with Iran, and apart from the fact that it is now attempting to swallow up Kuwait, has been waging a war with its own citizens, first and foremost with Communists—the Communist Party and Communists in Iraq were cruelly exterminated. He waged a battle against Kurdish rebels, a sea of blood was shed here also.

[Bovin] And he used chemical weapons there. He poisoned whole villages of these Kurds, these chemical agents were dropped there.

[Shishlin] And all the time he was constantly waging a battle within his own environment. He constantly maintained the atmosphere of terror with repression, because terror is the life preserver that keeps this repressive regime afloat and does not permit it to go the wall. But I think that now, under conditions when various types of sanctions are being legally applied against Iraq and serious political pressure is being exerted, these internal ailments of the regime and its internal instability should manifest themselves. And it seems to me that Saddam Husayn's aggression is in itself a step towards his own political downfall.

[Bovin] And then we are not speaking about the hostages. Well, alright, the aggression in Kuwait—it was seized, and this is bad—well, it is bad, but how shall I put it, it is within the framework of bad things I do not know of usual...

[Levin, interrupting] Well, of normal, international relations of the last century.

[Bovin] But when these people are seized, when they are imprisoned at sites, at potential targets, and when they say—you try to bomb this factory, Americans are there, this is what the Germans did when they drove women and children in front of them, or when Khomeyni sent those boys in front there. This is what it is, it is already placed outside laws of any kind. And they are doing this with their policies, they are detaining people, are taking them away somewhere, this is simply barbaric, you cannot find normal words.

[Levin] Do you know what kind of propaganda show he set up there a few days ago? He invited around two dozen Britons, including children aged between six and 10, and appeared himself in these surroundings in civilian clothes—this was stressed—stroked the children's heads and said to everyone, you are guests here, you are here to prevent the horrors of war, you will be heroes of peace. This 45-minute film was shown—an American television company showed it throughout the world—but, you understand, this cynicism can in no way fit within the framework of modern civilized relations although there are precedents, they can be found on various contintents.

[Bovin] It's not clear what's going to happen to our people, either, because if you take Iraq, the women, children, and the sick have gotten out. But several thousands of our men remain there. They are working there as oil men and at other kinds of facilities, and who knows what may happen?

[Levin] To be honest, I cannot recall similar situations in the past when our state has displayed such a really sincere and profound concern for its own citizens. Previously, in order not to make things worse and not to complicate matters, we were told that we would pretend that all was quiet and calm. Now our state has very clearly acted to defend its citizens, and I also consider it very important to note the fact that we are also attempting energetically, along diplomatic channels, to secure the release of other citizens, the citizens of other states. And the world community values this. And this position of ours provides a reply to certain reproaches in the American press, which believes that we should act more resolutely. Well, we believe that all diplomatic means should be used. Until all the diplomatic and political possibilities have been exhausted, we must not act hastily. And we have to consider the people, the foreigners, who are in Iraq. This stance is motivated, I think, by moral and humanitarian considerations, and it is absolutely justified.

[Shishlin] Although we have to be frank: All possible developments are now possible there, including military ones, including military ones. The reason is that not all that much time is available to resolve the crisis. And at any rate, when certain observers incline to the view that the crisis could become long and drawn-out, and while accepting the reasonableness of certain views on this, I believe nevertheless that this crisis cannot last long. It cannot be long and drawn-out because the situation is simply intolerable. And I don't believe that Saddam Husayn's Baghdad will be able to digest Kuwait. No, it won't manage to.

[Bovin] No, because it has to be demonstrated somehow that the world community will not put up with such aggressive actions any more. The cold war really is over, so let us get used to the new world order, and let us build this new world order, not just in Europe, but throughout the world. But regrettably a certain psychological element is at play here, and it is very perceptible at the United Nations at the moment. In this situation, we and the Americans would seem to be acting for a just cause. And that is exactly what it is. But from the point of view of small states, particularly in the Third World, this collective action of the two superpowers and the fact that they are trying to act as the main captains of world policy, so to speak, can perhaps be seen as an attempt to impose their will. This psychologically understandable element is beginning to tell. So this factor needs to be taken into account, and one should perhaps act in a more considered and milder manner, so that this impression is at least not emphasized. So one can see how everything is complex and interwoven here.

[Levin] A state maintains its own interests, and of course all of them are weighing matters up. Alright, say I get involved—but what is going to happen? Japan, for instance. It has adopted a fairly restrained position. It could perhaps be a little more active.

[Bovin] Japan gets 63 percent of its oil from the Persian Gulf.

[Levin] It's when this sort of arithmetic gets going that you see totally different approaches to the situation that has arisen. And regrettably, this arithmetic is a reality. And there is nothing you can do about it. At the present time, I would say that those states that obtain their oil from the Soviet Union probably feel a bit happier, even though there are disruptions there, too. But they, too, lose out. Everyone had some economic relations...

[Bovin, interrupting] Alas, the fact of the matter is that, for instance, we sell oil to India. But that does not mean that we transport our own oil to India. Oh, no! Kuwait, for instance, might supply those 2 million [as heard], and we pay the money. So you see the links which we, too, are being deprived of. We, too, are experiencing some inconvenience over this. Of course, if the oil prices rise then generally speaking that is good for us.

[Shishlin] It is reckoned that the Soviet Union will gain an additional 7.5 billion through the oil price rises.

[Bovin] Possibly, but...

[Levin, interrupting] Yes, but you see the situation that exists. Following the events in the Near East, the dollar is falling in value on the New York Stock Exchange. In Frankfurt-on-Main you get 1.5 marks—plus a few pfennigs—for a dollar, although just a short while ago the dollar was nearing the two-mark level. We get 7 billion of these dollars—a substantial amount—but then the economic benefit clashes to such an extent with the political aspect that you start to wonder whether this is good or bad. And after some thought you even come to the conclusion that we would do better without all of this.

[Bovin] That's another matter.

[Shishlin] Well, of course this has been an unwelcome August present for international relations, but I do believe that nevertheless, through all these storm clouds we will eventually see some brightening in the Near East crisis.

And after all, there are other no less serious and acute problems on the European political agenda—and not just on the European agenda. Take, for instance, the impending German unification.

[Bovin] That's on automatic. Virtually everything is running on auto-pilot.

[Levin] The auto-pilot was switched on on 1 July, when they switched to...

[Bovin, interrupting] Yes, there may be tribulations and disagreements, but the auto-pilot...

[Levin, continuing] ...a unified currency. That was a technical matter. And now there is political discussion as to how, what, and who could gain from this. And the situation is...

[Shishlin, interrupting] Yes, but again in any case we will encounter a new political landscape.

[Levin] This past week the decision was made that the unification of the two German states will take place on 3 October. At the same time we could remind our listeners that on 12 September Moscow is to host a conference of the six under the two-plus-four formula. One can predict with a great degree of confidence that the external political aspects of the unification of the two German states will be resolved. And incidentally, this past week has seen another event which, what with the wave of propaganda that has come crashing down on us from the Near East, did not receive due attention from the mass media, although it is an event of great significance: Speaking on behalf of the FRG and GDR Governments in Geneva at the fourth nuclear non-proliferation treaty review conference, Genscher confirmed that the united Germany will neither have nor acquire nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons. And to this it should be added that in the very near future it is expected that an official statement by the ministers of foreign affairs of the two states—de Maiziere, the chairman of the govenrment, has now taken this mission upon himself for the GDR—will announce the maximum size of the armed forces of the united Germany, which was virtually agreed during the talks in the Caucasus between President Gorbachev and Chancellor Kohl as 370,000. This in sharp contrast to what is occurring in the Near East. Here it is precisely in a civilized manner that very complex problems are being resolved.

[Shishlin] A multitude of very difficult problems are occurring, including in our foreign policy. But in one way or another these realities need to be faced and the main thing is to act, to act in accordance with the postulates of the new political thinking.

[Levin] We will hope that these postulates will make themselves felt and will manifest themselves in the Near East as well. Although, we repeat again, the situation there is extremely alarming. On this, our broadcast has come to an end. You were listening to a meeting between international observers at the round table. Taking part in it were Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich Bovin, political observer of IZVESTIYA; Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, political observer; and Viktor Nikolayevich Levin, all-Union radio commentator. Goodbye, respected comrades.

Commentary on UN Vote for Use of Force

LD2708140890 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] Now Aleksandr Pogodin will comment on developments in the Persian Gulf following the adoption of Resolution 665 by the UN Security Council:

[Pogodin] The essence of that resolution lies in granting to all countries the right to stop if necessary any ship going from Iraq or to that country. It also provides for the possibility of using force to implement the resolution. These measures are designed to ensure compliance with the sanctions against Iraq imposed by the Security Council earlier. That the Security Council, first of all its permanent members, reached a consensus on such an acute and complex problem is an unprecedented event even in today's politics.

Now most analysts evaluating this event point to the special importance of the stand taken by the Soviet Union. Just a few days ago there were many conjectures and guesses concerning the Soviet approach to the tough document adopted by the Security Council. Now all idle talk is over. The USSR has acted in full accordance with the principled stand it took upon the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. These principles are to condemn the act of aggression, demand that Iraq pull out its troops out of Kuwait and seek to settle the conflict as soon as possible by peaceful means.

I'd like to draw attention to precisely the latter provision, to achieve a peaceful political settlement. The possibility of using force does not mean the necessity to use it. The Soviet Union does not intend to use force in the Persian Gulf. It will honor its commitments for the purpose of implementing the Security Council's resolution but focus on a search for political methods of settlement. The Soviet Union hopes that Iraq will make the necessary conclusions from the fact that of unity in the Security Council, take steps aimed at preventing the crisis from escalating and begin to act in accordance with the adopted resolutions. This stand was explicitly stated by the Soviet president in his personal message to Baghdad on the eve of the Security Council's session.

It's hard to predict how the events will develop in practical terms under the new circumstances. Maybe something will clarify after the meeting between the United Nations Security General with Iraq's Foreign Minister, scheduled for Thursday. That such a meeting has been planned seems to me a good sign, as evidence of the fact that opportunities for a peaceful settlement have not been exhausted yet by far.

Spokesman Gremitskikh's 24 August Briefing

Views Iraqi Sanctions

LD2408135790 Moscow TASS in English 1337 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev and Yuriy Rublevskiy]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh today began a briefing by drawing the attention of journalists to the letter sent by the Soviet government to United Nations secretary-general. The letter reported measures taken by the Soviet Union in pursuance of the U.N. Security Council resolution on sanctions against Iraq.

The letter was circulated at the United Nations as an official document.

Even before the above-mentioned resolution was adopted, the Soviet government decided to suspend the delivery of armaments and combat hardware to Iraq, Gremitskikh said.

Immediately after the resolution was adopted, the Soviet foreign minister notified agencies concerned on the need to discontinue certain forms of trade, economic and financial ties with Iraq and Kuwait, he said.

Not a single ship with goods or other products left Soviet ports for Kuwait since the resolution was adopted, Gremitskikh added.

Measures were taken to bring back various cargoes that were sent to Iraq earlier. The Soviet Union also (?suspended) accepting military hardware for repairs in the USSR and the return of repaired hardware to Iraq.

The Soviet government in its actions proceeded from the premise that the implementation of the U.N. Security Council resolution on sanctions against Iraq is mandatory for all U.N. member nations, Gremitskikh emphasized.

Reiterates Stance on Iraq

LD2408163890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1527 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Yuriy Rublevskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Aug (TASS)—International observers accredited in Moscow were probably convinced today, after several days of "doubts" caused by the recent visit here by Sa'dun Hammadi, Iraq's special representative, that the USSR's attitude toward Iraq's annexation of Kuwait remains unchanged. Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the Directorate of Information of the USSR Foreign Ministry, stated at a briefing today that the USSR assesses this step by Iraq as "illegal and invalid."

"We do not consider ourselves bound by the Iraqi authorities' decision to close embassies in Kuwait, as this is in flagrant contravention of international law," the Soviet diplomat stressed in particular. "The Soviet Union continues to regard the State of Kuwait as an indispensible participant in the world community, and maintains diplomatic relations with it."

Foreign journalists posed a number of "corroborative" questions concerning, in particular, the evacuation of the diplomats and the closure of the soviet Embassy in Kuwait, and also the possibility of the Kuwaiti foreign minister visiting the USSR. The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman did "not rule out" that there could be diplomatic contacts between Soviet officials and the head of the Kuwaiti foreign policy department. With regard to the functioning of the Soviet Embassy in Kuwait, Yuriy Gremitskikh said that "in the international legal sense the USSR is not closing its embassy" in that country. The journalists took this statement to mean that, were conditions to arise that were conducive to Soviet diplomats living and working normally in Kuwait, the embassy could start functioning again. It should be remembered that at present those conditions do not exist.

On behalf of the Soviet Union, the Foreign Ministry spokesman again called on Iraq to submit to the decisions of the UN Security Council and embark on the road of fulfilling them. In Moscow's opinion, this would enable an escalation of the crisis to be averted, and a political settlement to be worked at.

The USSR's goal of seeking the best solutions, which would meet the task of settling the crisis and also take into account all its constituent elements, is also to be seen in the actions of Soviet representatives at the United Nations. In particular, Yuriy Gremitskikh gave an account of a letter from the Soviet government to the UN secretary general on measures the USSR has adopted to implement the UN Security Council resolution on sanctions against Iraq. In accordance with this document, the USSR is strictly complying with all the decisions adopted by the international community on this issue.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman also announced that in the course of continuing discussions in New York by the five permanent members of the Security Council of a draft resolution on further steps in connection with the situation in the Persian Gulf, the Soviet representative is invariably following a policy of seeking the best solutions for settling the crisis. He stressed, moreover, that the USSR is actively cooperating with all members of the "five" without exception, "in the belief that maintaining the unity of the five is an important factor for effective Security Council actions in the unfolding situation."

On Evacuation From Kuwait

LD2408203990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] [Announcer] This morning the final group of Soviet citizens returned to Moscow from Kuwait. This is what Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said about this at a meeting with journalists:

[Begin Gremitskikh recording] Despite major difficulties, the evacuation took place successfully and all our compatriots are alive and well, and now home. We would like to note that the Iraqi authorities did not create any obstacles, but on the contrary were cooperative. The hope is being expressed in Moscow that cooperation will be shown in the future as well, in particular in evacuating the wives and children of workers contracted there from Iraq.

We are also grateful to the Jordanian Government and institutions, private companies, and individuals for their attentive, sympathetic attitude to our people and for their help in organizing their transportation from the border to Soviet planes at Amman airport.

Officials of the USSR Embassy in Kuwait were also in this last group of those evacuated from that country to Moscow. This was due to only one reason: The situation in Kuwait which made the continuation of their official activities impossible. However, in no way should any conclusion be drawn from this on a change in the Soviet Union's attitude to the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq. This act is illegal and invalid.

We do not consider ourselves bound by the Iraqi authorities' decision to close embassies in Kuwait as this is in flagrant contravention of international law. The Soviet Union continues to regard the State of Kuwait as an indispensible participant in the world community and maintains diplomatic relations with it.

The Soviet Union once more calls on Iraq to submit to the just and legal UN Security Council resolution and begin to implement those things which would allow a growth in the conflict to be avoided and move toward a political settlement. [end recording]

Kuwait Embassy 'Not Closing'

LD2408123590 Moscow TASS in English 1223 GMT 24 Aug 90

[by TASS correspondents Aleksander Kanishchev and Yuriy Rublevskiy]

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—The fact that there are no more Soviet citizens in Kuwait does not mean that the Soviet Union has closed its Kuwait embassy, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh said here today.

"Actually, the embassy has ceased to function, but in the international legal sense we are not closing our embassy," he said.

The last Soviet diplomats and specialists who worked in Kuwait arrived back in Moscow early this morning.

Reagan to Visit USSR

LD2408133990 Moscow TASS in English 1325 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Yuriy Rublevskiy]

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman has confirmed reports that former U.S. President Ronald Reagan will visit the Soviet Union.

Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing here today that "technical issues connected with Reagan's visit as a guest of the Soviet president are being worked on".

The spokesman said president Mikhail Gorbachev had invited Reagan and his wife Nancy to visit the Soviet Union during their meeting in San Francisco last June.

Praises FRG Arms Policy

LD2408140390 Moscow TASS in English 1348 GMT 24 Aug 90

[by TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Yuriy Rublevskiy]

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman has praised the stance of the West German leadership on the attitude of a future united Germany to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

Speaking at a briefing here today, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh called the attention to the speech of West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Geneva at a conference on the treaty. The West German statesman said that united Germany would neither produce, nor possess, nor control nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons, that it would continue to be a signatory to the non-proliferation treaty.

"We welcome these statements, which were also part of the speech made by West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Zheleznovodsk. West Germany's stand is of much importance for achieving a mutually acceptable settlement on foreign aspects of attaining German unity, for cancelling rights and responsibilities of the four powers and for granting united Germany all prerogatives of a sovereign state," Gremitskikh said.

French Official's Visit

LD2408173690 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—A working visit to the USSR of Roland Dumas, French minister of state and foreign minister, which begins on Saturday, will become another step on the way of intensive political contacts between the two countries in the past several years.

When addressing journalists on Thursday, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh pointed out that the visit "meets the two countries' interest in maintaining a high pace of an intensive political dialogue in conditions of dynamic developments in Europe and the world in general." He added that the French minister would probably be received by Mikhail Gorbachev.

However, the forthcoming talks in Moscow should not be regarded as a meeting following some specific recent developments. Anticipating such conclusions, Soviet Foreign Ministry workers stress that "it will be a working visit, which was planned beforehand by the two sides."

It is quite natural, however, that the sides will devote much attention to the latest international developments, specifically, the crisis situation in the Persian Gulf. Soviet diplomats point out with satisfaction the similarity of the two countries' approaches to ways of its settlement.

Other topics of the negotiations may include those dealing with the coming meeting of foreign ministers in Moscow within the framework of the "two plus four" formula and preparations for the summit meeting of participants in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, due to be held in Paris.

Bilateral relations will feature prominently at the coming talks in Moscow. The sides will analyse the implementation of the agreements signed during last year's visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to France. Many of them are being implemented in this or that degree. However, there are some obstacles on the way of the implementation of some of them, to which the sides should pay special attention.

Soviet diplomats say that specific issues dealing with bilateral cooperation can also be discussed during Roland Dumas's visit. A Soviet Foreign Ministry senior official told TASS that they proceed from the assumption that the French "are very sensitive to the problems facing this country in the economic sphere".

Further on French Ministers Visit

LD2408140590 Moscow TASS in English 1357 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Yuriy Rublevskiy]

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, who arrives in Moscow this Saturday, may meet Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on the same day, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing here today.

Dumas is scheduled to hold talks with his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze in the first half of Sunday. He will leave for home on Sunday afternoon.

Reaction to Antall Remarks

LD2408182690 Budapest MTI in English 1643 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 24 (MTI)—Yuriy Gremitskikh, Soviet foreign ministry spokesman, has granted an interview to MTI's Moscow correspondent, in connection with Moscow's response to the Antall address of August 20.

(At his press conference in Moscow on Thursday, the foreign affairs spokesman quoted the Hungarian prime minister as saying that, as a world power, the Soviet Union had kept the world in fear for seven decades. He accordingly likened the Soviet Union to the Byzantine and Ottoman Turkish empires. The spokesman said that the Soviet Foreign Ministry was surprised at the statements, particularly in the light of Soviet endeavours to remove obstacles blocking the development of bilateral links. MTI's Moscow correspondent has now asked Mr Gremitskiky to speak at more length on what he meant by Moscow's 'endeavours'.)

'First of all, I referred to the Soviet Union's recognition of the Hungarian people's right to unconditional choice. It cannot be denied that the far-reaching changes that have taken place in Hungary over the past few years have sprung from the authority of the Hungarian people, and not through any intervention or exertion of influence from us' said Mr Gremitskih.

'The two countries are unanimous that the signing of the Moscow agreement on March 10, on the full withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory, was a historical moment. Although this move was initiated by the Hungarians, the conditions of the agreement could not have existed without the new way of thinking overtaking Soviet foreign policy.'

'Further significant changes - the basis of Soviet-Hungarian relations - are taking place in bilateral trade and economic links,' Mr Gremitskikh said. 'Approved by both sides, these relations are being transformed in terms of market principles that are consistent with the internationally adopted practice, and in future will exclude mutual demands stemming from the unequal barter trade.'

'Finally, let me point out that a whole series of measures have been passed in my country aimed at creating the most favourable conditions for fulfilling the nationality rights of the Hungarian minority living beyond the Carpathians. These moves were highly appreciated by the new Hungarian leadership, including Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. I have mentioned only a few specific examples to prove the Soviet Union's novel approach to the development of her relations with the Republic of Hungary,' said Mr Gremitskikh in his summary of the opinion of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Denies Shevardnadze Visit to ROK

LD2408122190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1152 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 24 August—TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Yuriy Rublevskiy report from the Press Center of the USSR Foreign Ministry:

"The plans of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze do not include a visit to Seoul," Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said today at a briefing. The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stated this when asked by a TASS correspondent to comment on claims in certain sections of the media that before his visit to Japan the Soviet foreign minister plans to visit South Korea on 3 September.

U.S. & Canada

Lithuania's Brazauskas Comments on U.S. Visit

90UN2626A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 1 Aug 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Lithuanian Vice Premier A. Brazauskas by J. Lukosiavicius, compiled by A. Petraytis from the "Digest: The Lithuanian Press": "From TIESA"—first two paragraphs are introduction; ellipses in parentheses as published]

[Text] **Perhaps because we are beginning to get used to the storm of passions and the turbulence of "democracy by slogans," the past week seemed a little more peaceful than the preceding ones. Its most important event was the 50th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet power in Lithuania which was noted by people, public organizations, and the mass media. True, people noted it in different ways: Some with streaming banners; some with lowered flags; some discussed the half-century-old events in somber tones; some triumphantly discoursed on the landmarks of years and dates, tying the future to the "inviolable Union of free republics" which Lithuania joined 50 years ago on 3 August.**

In the meantime everything is going at its own pace. Parliament adopts and discusses the latest draft bills, the government tries to patch up gaps in the economy.... But in the process the government's statesmen and we, the "simple folk," keep in mind the main thing—negotiations with the Union leadership. This theme is in constant attendance on the pages of newspapers and journals. And it is worth noting that evaluations and approaches are becoming more thoughtful and sober. The many diverse events of the last week have, naturally, been reflected in different ways in the mass media.

"There are great opportunities for cooperation." That was how Algirdas Brazauskas answered a question about Lithuanian emigres. In the last issue of the newspaper TIESA, Jonas Lukosiavicius published an article about the vice premier's visit to the United States.

I again talked by telephone with Algirdas Brazauskas, vice premier of Lithuania, who is visiting the United States along with Raymondas Rayatskas, vice president of the Academy of Sciences. In Washington there were meetings with senators and meetings in the institutions of power.

(...)

[Lukosiavicius] If it is not a secret, what was the main theme of the conversation?

[Brazauskas] The main theme of the conversation was, of course, Lithuania. U.S. legislators were especially interested in preparations for negotiations with Moscow, when they might take place, their content, and the issues which will be discussed. The senators are also interested in the internal situation in the Soviet Union.

[Lukosiavicius] What is the opinion of the senators on the moratorium?

[Brazauskas] They reacted very calmly. Not one of them said that the moratorium was unnecessary, and I should only say that some (and I am speaking about other meetings) did not seem to know whether or not the moratorium was in effect. I am having to explain that the moratorium goes into effect with the beginning of negotiations—with the beginning of official negotiations. Of course there were many questions about the blockade: What were its results, is it still being felt. So I told them about the serious shortages—the lack of construction materials, steel, and so on. The way things are.

(...)

[Lukosiavicius] What is the opinion of Lithuania in the State Department?

[Brazauskas] It views the republic as a very organized state which has conducted itself well even under conditions of a painful blockade. This is high praise. The State Department is very interested in the blockade itself and in the possibility of relations with Russia. Primarily the possibility of economic relations. I told them how we are working and how we are trying to eliminate the effects of the blockade. They received this news very positively. It was stressed several times that the negotiations are the business of the two states. That was especially emphasized. [end Brazauskas]

(...)

Undoubtedly at the meetings which took place in Chicago, Washington, and New York, people were extremely interested in A. Brazauskas himself and his role on the path to 11 March. And finally, they were interested in Lithuanian emigres—I mean those who are politically active—and they were interested in the current situation of the Lithuanian Communist Party and its position on the more important issues.

(...)

The questions were many and varied—as Romas Kezis afterward noted in a radio broadcast for U.S. Lithuanians, "Some of them were quite laughable, but the guest answered them all politely and in an extremely friendly manner." Of course they asked about relations with the Soviet Union and with Russia. After all, it is well-known that emigre economists and businessmen have repeatedly declared that without economic relations with these countries it is difficult to imagine the future of Lithuania's economy.

(...)

There was one more pressing question—about relations between the Republic of Lithuania and the emigres.

(...)

[Brazauskas] I am pleased that we can begin businesslike conversations with the emigres. I was particularly convinced of this during my trip.

(...)

[Brazauskas] I call upon you to begin this work. And upon my return to Vilnius I will propose that people in the Council of Ministers support these ties and organize them. [end Brazauskas]

I do not at all wish to say that all of Algirdas Brazauskas' dialogues with emigres were only an exchange of compliments. For instance, Kornelius Bumchis, editor of the weekly DARBININKAS—incidentally, he was also on the honorable presidium—expressed the opinion that there are too many newspapers in Lithuania and that some of them, as "organs of moral terror," should be closed down. The guest did not agree at all: "The most varied opinions have the right to existence and dissemination."

U.S. Senators Visit Leningrad

LD2408204790 Moscow TASS in English 2021 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kondratenko]

[Text] Leningrad August 24 TASS—A group of U.S. senators, on a business visit to the Soviet Union, today travelled to Leningrad. The senators were invited by the Soviet parliamentary Committee on Agrarian Issues and Food.

The guests were received by Municipal Council Chairman Anatoliy Sobchak, who has recently returned from the United States.

Sobchak noted that Soviet-American ties developed more dynamically, which was exemplified for instance by the establishment of twinned city arrangements between Leningrad and Los Angeles.

Drawing the senators' attention to the fact that the meeting with them was taking place in the Red Hall of the Mariinskiy Palace, where Russian Czar Aleksandr the Second signed the document to emancipate the peasants from serfdom, Sobchak said that "a similar task is relevant in our time as well".

"We should liberate our peasants from the absurd economic management system this time," Sobchak said. "The country has enormous potentialities and natural resources, but agricultural production constantly encounters severe difficulties. We should give land to those who farm it. Many efforts will be needed to restore the traditional peasant way of life and revive the village. I hope that cooperation with your country will help solve this problem as well," Sobchak stressed.

Patrick Leahy, Democratic senator of Vermont and chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, said that he and his colleagues represented the forces favoring the transition of the United States and the USSR from military confrontation to economic interaction.

Leahy said the senators held constructive talks during the visit, which convinced them that current changes in Soviet society were irreversible.

The guests visited the specialised hot-house firm Leto which supplies vegetables to Leningraders all year round, and also Petergof, the famous suburb of Leningrad.

The senators wound up their visit to the USSR and flew home this evening.

China

PRC-SRV Relations, Cambodian Issue Viewed

OW2608211490 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Nikolayev commentary; from the "World Today" program]

[Text] Dear listeners, Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV], has said that he planned to go to Beijing to meet Deng Xiaoping. According to reports by various foreign news agencies from Hanoi, the CPV leader reiterated his wish to normalize Vietnamese-Chinese relations at an earlier date in a meeting with Watanabe, a leader of Japan's ruling party, the Liberal Democratic Party.

Can a breakthrough be made in the relations between Hanoi and Beijing? Nikolayev, a commentator of this station, has the following comments:

Both sides are interested in this issue judging from the statements of officials, including statements issued by top leaders. Of course, the Beijing authorities have been more (?hesitant) in this matter. The Chinese side has not raised the issue of holding a summit meeting. So, as matters stand, there is still quite a long way to go before a summit meeting can be held. As we all know, people in Beijing have linked normalization of Chinese-Vietnamese relations to solving the Cambodian problem. The Chinese side has regarded the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia as the key to solving the problem and as a condition for improving Chinese-Vietnamese relations. The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia last fall had an important effect on settling the issue. However, it did not bring about a final solution to the conflict.

Contradictions between the various Cambodian factions, especially contradictions regarding sharing domestic power, have become the biggest obstruction to reaching a solution. A compromise was nearly reached at a meeting in Tokyo in June. There, Hun Sen, head of Phnom Penh, and Sihanouk, leader of the opposition factions, agreed on a formula for a Cambodian Supreme

National Council. The formula stipulated that Cambodia and the coalition government of the Khmer opposition factions each designate six representatives to the council. However, the whole thing stalled due to the Khmer Rouge stirring up trouble.

Leaders of the three Cambodian opposition factions are now in Beijing to discuss the principles for forming a supreme national council again. Phnom Penh has steadfastly carried out the Tokyo agreement. So future progress in solving the Cambodian problem primarily depends on whether the various sides can reach an agreement. Under such circumstances, imposing conditions from the outside for solving the problem on the Khmer people means interfering in Cambodia's internal affairs. For this reason, Trang Quang Co, vice foreign minister of Vietnam, recently stressed to reporters that although Vietnam did not reject the Chinese side's specific proposals on solving Cambodia's (?internal) problems, Vietnam has no right to discuss these proposals on behalf of the various conflicting factions of Cambodia because this involves Cambodia's sovereignty.

Nikolayev said: As to the external aspect of the Cambodian issue, I believe that there is a broad prospects for China and Vietnam to cooperate with each other. For an instance, let us take the issue of stopping the supply of arms to support the warring sides. A possible solution to this problem can become an important factor for stopping war in Cambodia. So further contacts between Vietnam and China are necessary. These contacts will help solve the Cambodian problem and improve the neighborly atmosphere in the region. Other countries aside from China and Vietnam also wish to see a more neighborly atmosphere in the region.

Cambodian Resistance Meeting in Beijing Viewed

BK2508100490 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Commentary by Oleg Alekseyev]

[Text] PRC Prime Minister Li Peng held a meeting in Beijing with the three Cambodian resistance leaders—Sihanouk, Son Sann, and Khieu Samphan—to discuss problems related to the Cambodian solution. Regarding this matter, our observer, Comrade Oleg Alekseyev, has the following comments:

The meeting between leaders of the Cambodian resistance and the Chinese leaders has become a tradition. At present, China seems to be the country which has the closest relations with all the Cambodian resistance groups. It is not difficult to understand [words indistinct] influence on the situation. In my opinion, it is in this connection that we should assess the essence of the discussion among the Cambodian resistance leaders and their meeting with the Chinese leaders. An important event is that, according to Sihanouk's statement in Beijing, the three Cambodian resistance groups have now favored another international conference in Paris on Cambodia.

As is known to all, the first round of this conference was held exactly a year ago in Paris, that is in August 1989. It is regrettable that no unanimous decision was then reached to open the way for a Cambodian solution. However, the conference has an important role. It has become a great event for arranging international cooperation on restoring peace in Cambodia.

According to the report from Beijing, the three Cambodian resistance groups voiced their support for the various documents issued by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, namely the Soviet Union, China, the United States, France, and England. All these documents appealed, among other things, for a cease-fire in Cambodia as soon as possible and stressed that the conflict be settled only through peaceful means.

Finally, there is a report from Beijing that another round of talks among the Cambodians in Jakarta is needed. Sihanouk said that the three Cambodian resistance leaders are ready to meet with the head of the Phnom Penh government, Hun Sen. This is good news because everyone knows well that dialogue among the Cambodians is the only means for settling all of Cambodia's internal problems and deciding Cambodia's future.

SRV-PRC Meetings on Cambodia 'Essential'

BK2608151190 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1400 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam, said that he is ready to go to Beijing to meet with Deng Xiaoping. Meanwhile, news agencies from Hanoi reported that in his recent meeting with visiting Japanese ruling Liberal Democratic Party member Michio Watanabe in Hanoi, the Vietnamese leader affirmed Vietnam's intention to normalize relations with China soon.

Is there any progress in the relations between Hanoi and Beijing? Considering the statements made by officials—including members of top leadership—of both sides, it can be seen that the two nations are very interested in this issue. However, it seems that Beijing has shown restraint on this issue by not raising the issue of the above-mentioned possible summit meeting. As a result, it may take time for this meeting to materialize. As everyone knows, Beijing has linked the issue of normalizing relations with that of resolving the Cambodian problem. The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia last fall—an action that China termed a key factor for resolving the Cambodian issue and a condition for normalizing relations with Vietnam—has obviously and greatly contributed to resolving the Cambodian issue, but it still cannot stop the conflict because differences among the Cambodian factions are prevalent, especially in sharing administrative power.

It seems, however, that the Cambodian factions reached a compromise at the Tokyo meeting in June where Chairman Hun Sen and Prince Sihanouk agreed on the formation of the Supreme National Council [SNC] comprising six representatives each from the State of Cambodia and the coalition government of the opposition group.

However, due to the Khmer Rouge's negative attitude, little progress has been made in this regard. Leaders of the tripartite coalition government of the opposition group, in their recent meeting in Beijing, proposed that talks should be held again to discuss the principle of establishing the SNC. Meanwhile, Phnom Penh has affirmed its stand to implement the Tokyo agreement.

It can be said that further progress in resolving the Cambodian issue depends on agreement reached among the Cambodian opposition factions. It is obvious that the Cambodian factions have to act on pressure from the outsiders who interfered in Cambodia's internal affairs. Vietnamese Deputy Foreign Minister Tran Quang Co, in a recent press interview, stressed that Vietnam does not reject China's concrete proposals on resolving the internal aspect of the Cambodian issue. However, Vietnam has no right to discuss these proposals because they are related to the sovereignty of Cambodia.

The commentary said: From an international standpoint it can be said that China and Vietnam have ample opportunity to coordinate in resolving the issue, for instance the cessation of military aid to the warring factions in Cambodia. Measures taken to stop this aid will greatly contribute to stopping the war in Cambodia. As a result, meetings between Vietnam and China are very essential. This will help contribute to peacefully resolving the Cambodian issue and creating an atmosphere of friendship and good neighborliness in the region—a common aspiration cherished not only by China and Vietnam but by other nations as well.

USSR, PRC Foreign Ministers To Meet 1 Sep

LD2708041690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0357 GMT 27 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Kashirov]

[Text] Beijing, 27 Aug (TASS)—China and the Soviet Union have held consultations and decided a working visit between the foreign ministers of both countries will take place on 1 September in Harbin, during which they will exchange views on matters of mutual interest. This was reported today by Beijing Central Radio and the XINHUA news agency, quoting the PRC Foreign Ministry.

Northeast Asia

Moscow Commentary on Nakayama's Mideast Visits

OW2508065190 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] Foreign Minister Nakayama's eight-day visit to the Middle East, originally scheduled for Prime Minister Kaifu, began with visits to Saudi Arabia and Oman followed by visits to Jordan, Egypt, and Turkey.

In Saudi Arabia, King Fahd called on Japan to do its best to end the crisis in the Middle East. In Oman, Sultan Qabus called for Japanese nonmilitary support for efforts to put an end to the Middle East crisis, and stated that through Japan's assistance it would be possible to promote unity among Gulf area nations affected by the sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait.

In his talks with Jordanian counterpart al-Qasim, Foreign Minister Nakayama pointed out that each nation should state clearly its own position toward the Middle East dispute, adding that Japan would be ready to compensate Jordan for possible material losses if Japan should act in concert with other nations by taking sanctions against Iraq.

Both Saudi Arabia and Oman have indicated their understanding of restrictions imposed on the Japanese Government by the peace-oriented Constitution. However, the United States is now at the forefront of the military confrontation with Iraq and has made demands with which Japan will have difficulty complying.

According to the 19 August edition of THE YOMIURI SHIMBUN, the United States has asked Japan to provide material and technical support for U.S. troops stationed in Saudi Arabia, and also to participate in defending the Persian Gulf in one way or another. Taking all these factors into consideration, it is quite apparent that Japan has been put in a very complicated position.

It seems that Japan is in a situation intermingled with such factors as Japan's interests concerning diplomatic relations with the United States, Japan's responsibility as a member of the international community, restrictions imposed by the Constitution, and apprehensions over the safety of Japanese citizens now detained in Iraq. Behind all these factors is the fact that Japan does not have a sufficient oil supply for domestic consumption because this supply has been reduced by 12 percent as a result of sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait.

Japan formerly imported about 70 percent of its oil from the Middle East nations alone. This fact indicates that Japan must do its best to preserve its image as a friend of the Arabs. The talks held in Saudi Arabia and Oman seem to give the impression that Japan has succeeded in achieving this objective. As is known to all, Arab nations take different approaches toward the current crisis, and anti-U.S. feelings have been spread among the residents.

Thus, Foreign Minister Nakayama's visits to Middle East nations were conducted under very complicated circumstances because Japan has been forced to seek a compromise among various pressures that have been imposed upon it. Therefore, Foreign Minister Nakayama stated that Japan would do its best to support the group working for the settlement of the Middle East conflict and stressed that its support would be nonmilitary. For instance, he gave his word that Japan would expand its economic cooperation with those nations that have been affected by the Iraqi invasion.

At the same time, the Japanese Government is studying various measures, including financial support for international troops deployed to the Persian Gulf area and the deployment of medical and other teams. All these measures are included in the action program concerning the Persian Gulf crisis which the Japanese Government has just adopted. To implement this program it will be necessary for Japan to revise corresponding laws. Moreover, Japan will be forced into a situation in which it will be on the very brink of violating the constitution.

According to reports from Tokyo, for example, Japan will have to revise the law on the Self-Defense Forces [SDF] to contain an additional article stipulating that the SDF possibly could be deployed to any point worldwide to join in UN sponsored collective actions. Perhaps this revision will bring satisfaction to a certain circle of Japanese politicians who have been maintaining that Japan's military role should be expanded. This is because they will be able to come close to attaining their objective which they could not think of attaining during the cold war era.

However, this attempt at revising the SDF law certainly will meet with strong resistance from opposition parties which maintain that the dispute should be settled on the basis of the UN resolution and within the framework of the constitution.

Japanese Military Policy Toward USSR Assessed

LD2508112190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Interview with political observer Vladimir Tsvetov by unidentified announcer; place and date not given; from the Mayak "Panorama" program—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The theme of today's conversation has been prompted by Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu's statement. He said that the Japanese Government intends to bring the country's military policy in line with the contemporary position in the world. How would you comment on this intention from the point of view of Soviet-Japanese relations?

[Tsvetov] Well, first of all I would like to dwell on the following: A characteristic feature of Japanese economic policy is its flexibility and rapid adaptation to changing conditions. However, one cannot say this about Japanese foreign policy, particularly its policy toward the USSR. But the Soviet Union's efforts for a radical change in the political climate in the world have been so sincere, universal, and effective that the new currents have made themselves felt in Japanese policy toward the USSR too—in particular in Japanese military policy.

For example, Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu pointed out to the Japanese military department the need to remove from the latest white paper on defense the article which talks, and I quote, of the continuing latent military threat from the USSR in the Far East. In passing let me say that the annual defense white paper published by the Japanese Defense Agency is a report by the military department to the public on its activities and a way of informing the people about Japan's defense plans. Perhaps one day glasnost in our country will rise to the Japanese level and our defense ministry will also cease to hide from the public's attention. But that is just an aside.

[Announcer] Your criticism seems quite considerable even though it has been made in passing. But let us return to the theme of our conversation. What was the Japanese military's reaction to the instructions from their prime minister?

[Tsvetov] Well, just as one would expect from the military, and here there is no difference between Japanese generals and ours. the Japanese generals immediately set about citing arguments in order to avoid fulfilling the prime minister's instructions to review their military policy on the USSR as a potential enemy.

Thus, Taizo Terashima, chairman of the national Defense Agency Joint Staff Council, stated at a national security council meeting that although Moscow has reduced its quantity of arms and scrapped obsolete equipment, all the same the Soviet Armed Forces are qualitatively increasing arms in the Asia-Pacific region. Terashima cited specific examples. According to him, in the Far East the Soviet Armed Forces are deploying fast, silent, nuclear-powered submarines; guided-missile-armed destroyers; and are increasing the number of their most modern fighters—MiG 29's and MiG 31's.

Because the USSR Ministry of Defense conceals from you and me not only those things which really are military secrets but also information about its activities already known abroad, I am unable either to refute or confirm the data the Japanese general cited. But the Japanese military's aim is quite clear—not to permit any reduction in the rate of strengthening and modernizing their armed forces.

[Announcer] But as we do not have the information, then we will not make guesses about our generals' plans. But at least it is known what the Japanese generals are specifically seeking?

[Tsvetov] Of course it is known because the Japanese generals actively discuss their military plans both in the press and in parliament. Thus, in the next financial year they are seeking a six percent increase in defense spending. In particular, the Japanese military department wishes to receive over the next five years 300 of probably the world's most advanced tanks, the T-90, to replace 400 obsolete T-61 tanks produced in the 1960s. Naturally, this will considerably increase the Armed Forces' combat might. Furthermore, the Japanese military wants to increase the number of shore ship missile and salvo fire systems and also to strengthen their Naval forces.

[Announcer] Vladimir Yakovlevich, do you think that the Japanese generals will manage to get their way?

[Tsvetov] Probably not in full. Parliament will most likely adopt a decision to increase the military budget, not by six percent but by less. It is quite possible that there will be a reduction in the range and quantity of military equipment supplied to the Japanese Self-Defense Forces.

I think that this tendency in Japanese military policy will grow stronger and expand after Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's Japan visit next spring. I mean the tendency to gradually reduce the military budget and armaments. As far as Toshiki Kaifu's instructions to remove from the defense white paper the words about the continuing latent threat from the USSR in the Far East, it will become clear on 28 August when the national security council will discuss the white paper whether the military will fulfill this instruction or not.

Shevardnadze's Upcoming Visit to Japan Outlined

OW2408123390 Tokyo KYODO in English 1131 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Tokyo, Aug. 24 KYODO—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is coming to Japan in early September primarily to lay the groundwork for a productive visit by President Mikhail Gorbachev next year, Soviet diplomats here said Friday.

But, the diplomats said, a new approach to the military and political situation in the Asian-Pacific region may also be discussed.

Shevardnadze is due to arrive in Tokyo on September 4 for a three-day visit to Japan. He will hold regular consultations with his Japanese counterpart, Taro Nakayama, and also meet Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu.

The Soviet Union places great significance on discussions with Japan, the sources said, noting that the new Soviet-U.S. relations forged in the wake of the end of cold war mandate a totally different approach to stability and development in the Asian-Pacific region.

Japan has never presented a concrete framework for discussing the military and political situation in the region, but the two countries will be able to discuss that in the foreign ministerial talks, said one of the Soviet diplomats speaking with reporters in a regular meeting held once every three weeks.

The Soviet Union has been proposing creation of a forum similar to one in Europe to discuss security in the Asian-Pacific region. Canada and Australia have also proposed creating an Asia-Pacific security forum, but the United States and Japan are reluctant to accept the idea.

The diplomats said there are good possibilities for expanded economic and trade cooperation, citing arrangements for setting up joint ventures and exchanging bank branch offices.

They said the discussions between Shevardnadze and Nakayama will play an important role in deciding where their nations can achieve results during Gorbachev's visit. He will be the first Soviet leader ever to visit Japan.

The diplomats called attention to the growing autonomy given to the Soviet Far East coastal region, including independence in trade relations with other nations.

At the 11th Japan-Soviet governors' conference on economic and cultural exchange, held in Tokyo on Thursday, governors from both countries noted that a territorial dispute between Japan and the Soviet Union is preventing greater economic cooperation despite impetus given to trade by Soviet reforms.

Japan says resolution of the territorial dispute is a precondition to full-fledged bilateral economic ties as well as conclusion of a peace treaty.

Japan has long called for the return of Shikotan, Etorofu, Kunashiri Islands and the Habomais off its northernmost main island, which were seized by the Soviets at the end of World War II.

Boris Yeltsin, president of the vast Russian Federation, said upon visiting one of the islands on Wednesday that, because of their economic potential, the Soviet Union should not abandon them.

The Russian Federation covers the Soviet Far East, including the disputed islands.

The Soviet diplomats said agreement is likely to be achieved at the upcoming meeting on Japanese aid to victims of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster.

Japanese Foreign Ministry officials said the aid will include assistance in environmental protection and in treating victims of radioactive exposure.

Tokyo Embassy Views Visit

LD2408203790 Moscow TASS in English 2001 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Anatoliy Krasnov]

[Text] Tokyo August 24 TASS—The official visit by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to Japan planned for September 5-7 is called upon to become an important stage in the preparation for Soviet President's Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan next year. A spokesman for the Soviet Embassy in Japan said this at a briefing here today.

He noted that during negotiations at foreign minister's level the Soviet side is prepared for in-depth exchange of opinions on matters of bilateral relations, and on international problems including the military-political situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

The representative of the Soviet Embassy is of the opinion that the widening of Soviet-Japanese dialogue is promoted by positive changes that took place in the international situation this year.

The nature of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States was transformed. It was stated at the highest level that they do not regard each other as adversaries any longer.

Besides, the Irkutsk meeting of Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker was aimed above all at the establishment of the possibilities of cooperation and interaction in the solution of common problems of the Asia-Pacific region and settlement of conflict situations in separate places in the region that are a source of instability and tension, the spokesman said.

"We expect that in such conditions the discussion of the military-political situation in the Asia-Pacific region during the forthcoming Soviet-Japanese talks at the level of foreign ministers will help ease tension in the region," the spokesman said.

DPRK Vessels Arrive in Vladivostok for Visit

SK2708092890 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 25 Aug 90

[From the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Yesterday, the Korean fleet led by Kwon Sang-ho, commander of the DPRK Navy Eastern Fleet, arrived in Vladivostok to pay an official visit.

The Navy fleet comprises a destroyer, a patrol escort, and a rescue ship. This is a return visit for the recent visit to the DPRK by the Pacific Fleet.

Admiral Kwon Sang-ho met with Admiral Gennadiy Khvator, commander of the Pacific Fleet, and visited the Soviet Committee of the Maritime Province.

The Korean sailors visited various factories and looked over the Soviet combat fleet. The Korean sailors also performed songs and dances at the Navy Hall.

DPRK Consulate Marks Liberation Anniversary

SK2508052290 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 23 Aug 90

[From the "Primorskiy News" program]

[Text] The DPRK Consulate in Nakhodka arranged a banquet on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of Korea's liberation.

Comrade Yi Ung-sam, DPRK consul general, and Comrade Aleksey Volenchev, chairman of the Maritime [Primorskiy] Soviet of the People's Deputies, exchanged congratulatory speeches at the banquet.

Comrade Yi Ung-sam stressed that the Soviet Union, shouldering the basic burden for World War II, has made great a contribution through its heroic struggle to liberating the European people from the fascist bondage and to freeing the people in the East from the colonial leash of Japanese militarism.

Reporter Examines Economic Ties With ROK

SK2508084590 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Excerpts] A reporter of AMURSKAYA PRAVDA, a paper published in Amursk Oblast, has recently returned from a trip to South Korea.

Now, I am going to read you the gist of the first of his four articles run by the newspaper.

The reporter introduces his travelogue on South Korea as follows:

South Korea has recently earned the title of being the first among the young Asian dragons, a title of admiration. These countries, including Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong, are characterized by the high speed of their socioeconomic development, and this is why South Korea is said to have won the title of admiration.

For a long time, the Soviet Union and its next door neighbor in Asia, South Korea, have had no relations of any kind. However, with the changing times, Amursk Oblast was among the first to establish working ties with South Korean businesses.

What do the South Korean people think of this?

In an interview, the mayor of Kimhae, (?Song Un-pok), said: Relations between our countries have a long history. Russia, our great neighbor to the north, actively promoted trade with Korea from the outset of the 20th century. Perestroyka and glasnost, which are under way in the Soviet Union, have opened the practical possibility of mutual cooperation between the two countries. I am pleased to say that in my city there are businessmen willing to contribute to such a wonderful enterprise.

True. Enthusiastic personages determined to wed their interests with the Soviet Far East really have appeared in Kimhae.

Kang Pok-hui, president of a [word indistinct] company, is one such enthusiast. A few years ago, he visited Blagoveshchensk at the invitation of (?Interkom), a cooperative center for economic ties with foreign countries under the direct control of the Amur Municipal Executive Committee.

His knowledge about the business run by (?Interkom) enterprises and cooperatives acquired as a result of his visit to them has not been wasted. The two sides have begun studying a plan for building an enterprise that produces polyethylene screen in (?Blagoveshchensk). Kang Pok-hui, the company's president, explained that he wants to establish business ties with Soviet (?Priamurye), not so much to make a profit as to contribute to fully normalizing the ties between the two neighboring countries.

In considering the prospects for cooperation between the (?Priamurye) and the South Korean business circles, I could not help wondering whether this plan was a fantasy or not. Given the latest state of development in the economic ties between our two countries, this prospect is very (?meaningful). What counts most is to set a correct target before anything else.

Needless to say, South Korea would not offer us refrigerators or washing machine plants on a silver platter. It is, however, more realistic to establish joint ventures in the area of farming and agricultural product processing. Such joint ventures will sit very well with our economy, given the national economic conditions in (?Priamurye).

In addition, I often heard [word indistinct] proposals from the owners of such enterprises in South Korea during my visits to them. They were very much interested in the agricultural reality in the Soviet Far East. One of them said that he would invite two stock breeders from Amursk to be trained under him, and that he would invite several more for long-term training if prospects are good for the establishment of joint ventures.

Regrettably, there are still too many unnecessary restrictions and limits in our country's laws and regulations governing economic ties with foreign countries. [passage omitted]

The time has come to organize a Soviet-South Korean joint committee entrusted with a broad range of economic power. This joint committee could provide financial and other logistical assistance to enterprises entering joint ventures.

Such measures will not only have a good impact on consolidating economic relations, but also on turning relations between our two countries, which have been governed by outdated Leninist ambitions for a long time, into basically sound ones.

SRV, PRC Trade Contacts With ROK Reported

SK2408234090 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 23 Aug 90

[From the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Vietnamese and Chinese delegates are now attending an international conference in Seoul, capital of the ROK, on "Corporation and Privatization."

According to foreign news reports, delegates from the two countries, in an interview with reporters, called for expanded contacts with the ROK.

The Chinese delegates said China is interested in developing trade links with the ROK, but the establishment of diplomatic relations with the ROK is a little too early. Vietnam also has not established diplomatic relations with the ROK.

In recent years, however, Vietnam and China have been revitalizing trade and economic ties with the ROK. The volume of trade between China and the ROK reached as much as $3 billion last year.

ROK To Propose Arms Reduction Plan to DPRK

SK2708070490 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] South Korea is ready to discuss any DPRK initiatives if they are conducive to improvements in inter-Korean relations. This statement was made by ROK President No Tae-u in an interview with CHOSON ILBO.

According to the YONHAP News Agency in Seoul, President No Tae-u said that the government is expected to propose a phased arms reduction plan during the North-South premier-level talks slated for 4-7 September.

ROK Friendship Society Formed in Sakhalin

SK2508052690 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Excerpts] LENINUI KIL [LENINIST ROAD], a Korean-language newspaper published in the city of Yuzhno Sakhalinsk, pays great attention to the lives of Korean people residing in Sakhalin. [passage omitted]

A friendship association with South Korea recently was formed in Sakhalin. Reaction of the newspaper's readers to this event are varied.

Yi Kuk-hui, chairman of the Korean People's Committee in Yuzhno Sakhalinsk, thinks this runs the risk of dividing the Korean people into two groups.

He wrote: "We should be united rather than divided. We should give full cooperation toward the reunification of Korea. It is my belief that the Soviet-Korean Association in Sakhalin should invigorate its activity, and the contact with South Korea should be developed according to programs through the effort of the Korean People's Cultural Center." [passage omitted]

Near East & South Asia

Paper's Report of Arms Supply to Iraq Rejected

LD2708124190 Moscow TASS in English 1218 GMT 27 Aug 90

[By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov]

[Text] Moscow August 27 TASS—The similar approaches taken by various countries to the crisis in Kuwait, shown patently in the United Nations, offer a real chance for an early settlement of the conflict, according to reports in the international press. Many newspapers note with satisfaction the firm and consistent stand taken by the Soviet Union.

THE WASHINGTON TIMES also commented on the situation regarding Kuwait. Referring to unnamed secret services, the newspaper asserts that the Soviet Union continues to supply Iraq with arms.

Studying the situation in Iraq through binoculars that were apparently provided by the same secret services, THE WASHINGTON POST cites some 2,000 Soviet military advisers in Iraq and Iraq-bound Soviet vessels loaded with military equipment.

However, the Soviet Union disrupted military supplies to Iraq immediately after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Soviet Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev confirmed this fact once again in a TASS interview.

There are no Soviet military advisers in Iraq. There are only military specialists and they number not 2,000 but 200.

These specialists were sent to Iraq to teach how to use Soviet equipment. They have not been involved in working out documents or planning hostilities.

As for Soviet vessels that are allegedly carrying military cargoes in the area of the conflict, there has been only one Soviet vessel with such cargoes bound for Iraq. It was ordered to change course and return home. This incident happened several weeks ago, immediately after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

THE WASHINGTON TIMES is in an awkward situation, having used unverified information to create a sensation.

The question arises whose interests are served by this misinformation. It does not strengthen the common front of states which, opposing the aggression, seek to ease the crisis in the Gulf.

Pentagon Said To Have Arms Sales Details on Iraq

U.S. Reportedly Given Secrets

LD2408192290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Commentary by M. Osokin; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Osokin] Here in Saudi Arabia the U.S military are trying to make sense of another report today—that Iraq has pulled back select guard formations from the Saudi-Kuwaiti border and replaced them with Army units. Some observers assume that Iraqi President Saddam Husayn is fearful of discontent in Baghdad and is transferring guard units there that are loyal to him.

Whatever the case, an enormous Iraqi contingent remains in Kuwait, and the Americans in Saudi Arabia are now trying to find out as much as possible about their weaponry and capabilities. Information is gathered in various ways, and, according to the British press, one question was clarified in the most unexpected way. It was to do with these Iraqi missile launchers. According to information from London, the Soviet military attache in the United States visited the Pentagon and offered the amazed Americans one of the secrets of the cold war—details of the guidance system of missiles obtained by Iraq from the Soviet Union. This gives the Americans the possibility of starting the development of effective electronic countermeasures.

Defense Ministry Refutes Reports

PM2708134490 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5

[Report by A. Zhukov: "Rejoinder": "Missile Canard"]

[Text] A sensational story was blithely floated the other day by Britain's SUNDAY TIMES under the byline of one James Adams. According to the newspaper, the Soviet military attache in Washington visited the Pentagon and handed over to the dumbstruck American generals.... The designs of the guidance system of the top secret Scud-B surface-to-surface missile, which has a range of around 600 km and which was supplied to Iraq and fitted by it with chemical warheads. Henceforth the United States will be able to start developing effective countermeasures, thanks to which it will be possible to knock Scud-B missiles off course or even hamper their take-off. "The Russians have gone over decisively to the side of civilization," the newspaper concludes, because "perestroyka depends on Western help. A West at war will not, of course, be able to grant billions to the Soviet Union."

It gets worse. THE SUNDAY TIMES, citing information allegedly obtained from the Pentagon, further flabbergasts its readers with the news that the USSR has placed its ships stationed near the Persian Gulf under U.S.

command, passed on intelligence about Iraq, and expressed its readiness to send Soviet soldiers to Saudi Arabia.

After reading James Adams' article I could not, to be honest, believe my eyes. Detente is fine; warm relations with the United States are no bad thing either, but we have not yet started disarming ourselves completely: After all, our Army also has the Scud-B. No sensible person, least of all one wearing a uniform, will, despite all the condemnation of Iraqi aggression, hand over military secrets. After all, U.S. electronic warfare [nastupleniye] can be used not just against Iraq. And no one has relieved us of certain obligations which accompany the export of weapons.

But doubts are just doubts, and it is better to make inquiries where this question should be as clear as day. My first call was to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

The reaction of the Embassy press service staffers was one of great surprise. "We have no such information," was their comment on THE SUNDAY TIMES article.

My second call was to the USSR Defense Ministry. There the reaction was calmer, since our officers were already aware of THE SUNDAY TIMES story. And they asked that SOVESTKAYA ROSSIYA readers be informed as follows:

On 19 August the defense attache at the USSR Embassy in Washington paid a call on the U.S. Defense Department at the American side's request. He set out the Soviet leadership's well-known position regarding the worsening situation in the Persian Gulf.

During their conversation the types of weapons and combat hardware supplied by the USSR to Iraq at various times were enumerated. The quantity and their tactical and technical characteristics were not revealed because of contractual obligations to Iraq.

It was stated that the Soviet Union has never supplied any types of chemical weapons to Iraq or anyone else.

The Soviet attache's information was received by the American side with interest and attention. The unprecedentedly swift receipt of information from the Soviet side was noted.

Here you have the truth. Clear and precise. The only thing not clear is who wanted to drag the Soviet Union into the abyss of crisis in the Persian Gulf, and why.

UN Security Council Votes on Gulf Resolution

Approves Enforcing Gulf Sanctions

LD2508060190 Moscow TASS in English 0555 GMT 25 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] New York August 25 TASS—Five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council have agreed on a draft resolution allowing minimum use of force to enforce an economic blockade against Iraq.

Permanent representatives from Britain, China, the Soviet Union, the United States and France completed work on Friday on a draft resolution that will allow use of force to check all trade vessels sailing to and from Iraq in order to enforce the economic sanctions.

The resolution now has to be approved by the full Security Council.

The council will also discuss a draft resolution on the issue presented by non-aligned countries.

Both documents have much in common and their supporters are likely to reach an early agreement on the final text.

The Soviet Union plans to support the resolution, acting Soviet permanent representative Valentin Lozinsky said.

Several amendments have been introduced into the initial U.S. draft, he said.

"The Soviet Union wants to put the emphasis on the need to continue political and diplomatic efforts to settle the Iraq-Kuwait crisis," he said.

"However, we do not exclude minimum use of force. The initial draft resolution has been changed in order to emphasise political steps and dialogue, rather than use of force," he said.

"Mininum force should be used only when there is a need to enforce economic sanctions. This means that vessels can be stopped for checking in order to enforce the resolution on sanctions. In this case, certain force can be used," he said.

'Overwhelming Majority' in Favor

LD2508101190 Moscow TASS in English 0900 GMT 25 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] New York August 25 TASS—The U.N. Security Council called on all countries today to stop vessels sailing from and to Iraq, if necessary, to check their cargo in order to enforce economic sanctions imposed against Iraq.

The resolution, passed by an overwhelming majority, says that states deploying their naval forces in the Gulf should coordinate their actions through the mechanism of the Security Council decisions.

The resolution was supported by 13 members of the Security Council. Cuba and Yemen abstained.

U.S., Soviets Respond to UN Resolution on Gulf

Shevardnadze Notes 'Unanimity'

LD2608180990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug Second Edition 90, p 5

[Remarks by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in response to a question by an unidentified TASS correspondent in Moscow on 25 August]

[Text] A TASS diplomatic correspondent asked Eduard Shevardnadze to comment on the decision of the UN Security Council on measures to implement the sanctions brought against Iraq in connection with its aggression against Kuwait.

The minister said the following:

The Soviet Union's vote for Resolution 665 of the UN Security Council reflects our extreme concern at the situation that has evolved in the Persian Gulf region, and our aspiration to get the extremely dangerous threat to international peace and security eliminated as quickly as possible.

In the given situation we acted and are continuing to act in accordance with the demands of the UN charter, consistently defending the principles of collective efforts within the framework of the Security Council and of solving the crisis that has arisen by political means.

I will say that the political leadership of the country and Soviet diplomacy has been working throughout these days with great intensity, helping to achieve international agreement and an adequate response by the world community to the events in the area of the Persian Gulf.

From the start of the crisis, we have been in close consultation with the other permanent members of the Security Council—Britain, China, the United States and France—and with all the countries which are members of it. Our interaction with the United States has been of an unprecedented nature. A telephone hotline has been operating between Moscow, Washington, and Wyoming (where Secretary of State James Baker has been during the last few days). We have been in regular contact with the EC and its current chairman, Italian Foreign Minister G. de Michelis. We have had an urgent exchange of views with FRG Vice Chancellor H-D Genscher and French Foreign Minister R. Dumas. He is now in Moscow, and we intend to have a detailed discussion with him on what is happening in the Near East.

We have been keeping the leadership of the member countries of the Warsaw Pact informed, and have been passing on information to the governments of many neighboring and fiendly countries, including India, Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Iran.

We have been paying special attention to political dialogue with all the Arab countries, the leadership of the Arab League and the PLO.

Our contacts with the Iraqi leadership have continued without a single day's interruption. Besides the political problems we have also discussed practical matters with them, connected with the evacuation of Soviet citizens from Kuwait, and with the departure of women and children from Iraq as well. We met with understanding from the Iraqi side on this.

All this work was focused on finding ways of overcoming the critical situation brought about by Iraq's aggression, and avoiding further use of force in the Persian Gulf area.

We believe that this can be achieved with the help of measures to ensure the effectiveness of the sanctions regime established by decision of the Security Council. This is the aim of the Council's new resolution. I would like to stress that this resolution reinforces the Security Council's control over actions to implement the sanctions, and envisages a coordinating role for the military staff committee of the UN Security Council. These are very important elements of the decision adopted.

The voting figures on Resolution 665—it was adopted by 13 votes to two abstentions—show the Council's unanimity regarding the measures that must be taken in the present circumstances.

We hope that the Iraqi leadership will draw fitting conclusions from this fact, will take steps on de-escalating the crisis, and will start to act in accordance with the clauses of the resolutions adopted. This is our good advice to the Iraqi leadership. It was frankly expressed in the USSR president's personal message which was sent to Baghdad on the eve of the Security Council sitting. We expect the Iraqi leadership to pay attention to it.

We would like Iraq to know that the Soviet Union only wishes the Iraqi people well and is prepared to continue to aid a peaceful settlement of the crisis.

The highest degree of responsibility and supreme political wisdom are required today from all sides. The situation is already overheated and an exacerbation of the confrontation may lead to an explosion.

The resolution approved by the Security Council is an action directed toward preventing a more dangerous development of events. If all sides start to be guided by common sense, display a well-considered and responsible approach and follow the spirit and letter of the resolution adopted, then this will aid the advance towards a political settlement and peace in the Near East.

The unity demonstrated in the main body for maintaining peace and security, and first and foremost by its permanent members—the USSR, United States, PRC, Great Britain, and France—is a historic occurrence, unparalleled in contemporary politics. It gives a unique chance for the formation of effective mechanisms for defending law and justice in international relations.

White House Pledges Support

LD2608120390 Moscow TASS in English 1128 GMT 26 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Orekhov]

[Text] Washington August 26 TASS—The U.N. Security Council's resolution allowing armed enforcement of economic sanctions against Iraq "exhibits the commitment of the world to act effectively to achieve the complete, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait", says a statement by a White House press secretary, issued on Saturday.

"The United States pledges its complete support of the United Nations actions."

The U.N. resolution calls on nations to "halt all inward and outward maritime shipping (in the Gulf) in order to inspect and verify their cargoes and destinations".

Seen As U.S. Diplomatic 'Victory'

PM2708141090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent V. Linnik: "New York on the Line": "Persian Gulf: Anxious Days"]

[Text] As has been reported, the UN Security Council has passed a resolution on the use of "appropriate measures" to ensure that the economic sanctions announced by the United Nations against Iraq in connection with its invasion of Kuwait take effect. The U.S. Administration saw the adopted resolution as a victory for U.S. diplomacy, since it gives the multilateral naval force in the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz a free hand and enables it to stop and inspect all ships carrying freight to Iraq or out of Iraq. The Soviet Union's role in the complex process of devising this latest step by the United Nations to curb Iraqi aggression is given a special mention. "We are inspired by the progress at the United Nations," President G. Bush said through his press representative M. Fitzwater, "and with the support that has been received from the USSR president."

The U.S. side had pressed for the inclusion of the words "use of minimal force where necessary" in the text of the resolution. They did not get into the final version because of objections from the representatives of a number of states on the Security Council, who insisted, according to the U.S. press, on a toned-down version.

Sanctions Called 'Historic'

LD2508123890 Moscow TASS in English 1202 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] New York August 25 TASS—The U.N. Security Council resolution permitting use of force to enforce U.N. sanctions against Iraq is "historic," U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Thomas Pickering said.

He called for an early political solution to the Gulf crisis on the basis of previous Security Council resolutions. However, a political settlement is impossible without the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait, he said.

Yemen and Cuba said the resolution does not clearly specify the role of the Security Council in monitoring compliance with the resolution. In addition, the decision was taken too hastily and the U.N. secretary-general has not yet prepared a report on the implementation of the Security Council resolution imposing sanctions against Iraq, they said.

A Colombian representative, although supporting the resolution, pointed to some drawbacks in the text. The Security Council has in fact ordered the imposition of a naval blockade of Iraq, he said.

The resolution does not give carte blanc for uncontrollable use of force, the French ambassador said. Minimum force can only be used as a measure of last resort to enforce economic sanctions against Iraq, he stressed.

The Soviet Union continues urging the Iraqi leadership to radically change its policy, acting Soviet Ambassador Valentin Lozinsky said.

"Unfortunately our hopes have not been justified. Iraq has failed to withdraw its troops from Kuwait and continues to take steps that can only be characterised as illegal and provocative," he said.

"We urge Iraq to study carefully the mood in the world following its actions and not to attempt anything that can be regarded as a challenge to the international community and the Security Council decisions," he said.

"This approach alone will help prevent an escalation of the crisis and make it possible to seek a settlement. We emphasise the need to continue the dialogue and the search for a political settlement within the framework of the United Nations, on a regional and bilateral basis," he said.

Today's resolution aims to expand control over compliance with the sanctions. However, measures taken to enforce it should depend on concrete circumstances. Full use should be made of political and diplomatic methods. It is also important that the Security Council should continue considering this burning issue permanently, Lozinsky said.

The speed of developments show how important it is to show prudence and reserve in such circumstances and not to rely on force and actions that can only cause a conflagration, he said.

The crisis requires all those involved in the stand-off to respect the will of the international community and demonstrate concern for the future of the world, the Soviet ambassador said.

Representatives of Britain, Canada, Ethiopia, Zaire, Romania and other countries denounced Iraq for openly disregarding previous Security Council resolutions.

The Chinese ambassador stressed that his country in principle opposes the participation of superpowers in military actions to settle the Iraq-Kuwait conflict and use of force.

This prompted China to suggest removing words "on minimum use of force" from the previous draft. Emphasis should be put on a political settlement, he said.

The Kuwaiti representative thanked members of the Security Council for their efforts to make Iraq stop the aggression.

"We tried to seek an Arab solution to the conflict, but the Iraqi president rejected all proposals for a settlement," the Kuwaiti representative said, hoping that the new resolution will have a sobering effect on Baghdad.

The Iraqi representative took the floor to criticise the resolution and U.S. actions in the region. He said the resolution was "illegal," "hasty" and "invalid." The document does not give the right to use force, he said. The resolution is very dangerous because it failed to provide the Security Council with real power to control states that have deployed naval forces in the Gulf, he said.

However, he did not mention whether Iraq intended to comply with previous Security Council decisions.

Minister Katushev Comments

PM2608174590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, conducted by TASS political observer Yu. Kornilov for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA under the rubric: "Topical Interview"; place and date not given: "Using the Sanctions Weapon"]

[Text] Roundly condemning Iraqi aggression against sovereign Kuwait, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 661 on halting specified forms of trade, economic, financial, and credit ties with it. Since under Chapter VII of the UN Charter the introduction of such sanctions is binding upon all members of the international organization, the USSR Council of Ministers by a special order dated 16 August obliged all relevant ministries and departments to take appropriate measures in execution of Resolution 661. An interdepartmental working party was set up to monitor the execution of this order. How is the government decision being implemented? That is how I began my conversation with K.F. Katushev, deputy leader of the working party and USSR minister of foreign economic relations.

[Katushev] Iraq has traditionally figured among those states with which our country has carried out very large-scale and diverse economic cooperation over many years. The scale of the cooperation may be judged from the following figures: In the period since 1959 the USSR has concluded with Iraq agreements and contracts on technical assistance in the construction of almost 100 industrial and other installations, of which over 80 are now in operation. At the present time Soviet specialists (and there are around 7,000 in Iraq) are working for the most part in the construction of six major facilities. These include the 1,680-megawatt al-Yusufiyah heat and electric power station and an elevator in the city of Sulaymaniyah designed to hold 40,000 tonnes of grain. Our specialists are also taking part in the comprehensive development of the western al-Qurnah oil field, drilling operations in the country's southern oilfields, the construction of a major irrigation ditch, and planning and survey work on the hydroelectric power complex on the Euphrates River.

Today the sending of new specialists and supplies of equipment and machinery needed for construction work have been halted. When the existing material and technical resources at the sites have been exhausted, construction of the aforementioned installations will cease. Such a turn of affairs will, it seems to us, cause definite damage to the Iraqi economy; it will not be easy to make up the losses, and Baghdad, which prompted other countries, including our own, to take economic sanctions by its actions, will pay such a price for it. The sanctions are aimed at forcing the Iraqi leadership to forsake its aggressive policy.

Sanctions, along with economic cooperation, have also affected trade with Iraq, in which around 30 Soviet foreign trade associations are involved, including major ones like "Mashinoimport," "Tekhnopromeksport, "Selkhozpromeksport," "Avotoeksport," "Aviaeksport,-" "Stankoimport," and others. The USSR has for many years exported various kinds of machinery and equipment to Iraq: trucks, helicopters, excavators, forging presses, digital program-control machine tools, and so forth. These exports have been stopped.

Sanctions have, of course, also embraced the import of Iraqi products, which is causing substantial economic losses for the Soviet side. For example, just the halting of oil imports worth 800 million rubles [R], which the USSR reexported to India and Bulgaria, will result in the loss of goods, including consumer goods, for the Soviet domestic market amounting to almost R2 billion.

[Kornilov] Soviet-Iraqi trade did not amount just to the aforementioned supplies. It is no secret to anyone today that weapons supplies occupied a substantal place in our balance of trade with Iraq until recently....

[Katushev] That fact was no secret even before. Our country supplied weapons and combat equipment to strengthen the country's defense capability at the Iraqi leadership's request in conformity with the Soviet-Iraqi Friendship Treaty, signed back in 1972. The inventory of supplies included: surface-to-surface missile systems, T-72 tanks, infantry combat vehicles, warplanes, air defense missile systems, and certain other kinds of arms. Now, of course, all these supplies have been completely halted; a merchant ship of ours heading for Iraq with a cargo of military equipment received the order to alter course and return home immediately after the Iraqi Army's invasion of sovereign Kuwait. The efforts of the Soviet side, like that of other countries, have been aimed at preventing an escalation of confrontation, which could lead to a military clash with unpredictable consequences for the region and the world.

[Kornilov] Some Western media claim that Soviet weapons supplies to Iraq were on a "particularly large scale." And the NEW YORK TIMES, citing CIA data, reported the other day that these supplies doubled in the last 6 months before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait....

[Katushev] The claims about "massive supplies" of Soviet weapons to Iraq are an exaggeration. Judge for yourself. According to the figures of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, which Western analysts usually cite, the USSR has supplied Iraq altogether with weapons worth approximately R12 billion. An impressive sum. But it should not be forgotten that Soviet-Iraqi cooperation in the military sphere began as early as 1958 and that this sum should thus be spread out over 30-odd years. It is also essential to bear in mind that the sum in question includes not just payment for weapons and military hardware, but also payment for a number of "dual-purpose" facilities built in Iraq with our help (repair workshops and training centers), payment for the maintenance of military equipment and spares, compensation for our specialists' traveling expenses, and so forth. If you take all this into account, it is not difficult to see that supplies of Soviet arms to Iraq in volume terms was far from being on such a large scale as is now sometimes depicted.

As for THE NEW YORK TIMES claim that the volume of Soviet weapons sales "doubled" in the runup to the invasion, that is disinformation. I can say with a sense of total responsibility that our side did not increase such supplies. And no requests from Baghdad to increase them were received either.

[Kornilov] The foreign and also our own press is carrying articles which argue that, since the annexation of Kuwait has led to rising oil prices, the Soviet Union—as a very major exporter of liquid fuel—will derive appreciable economic benefit, which will enable us to improve our foreign trade balance.

[Katushev] That is true, but only partially so. According to our experts' estimates, the growth in oil prices will scarcely be a steady, long-term process. The crisis created in that region by Iraqi aggression has resulted in the breaching and even cessation of normal trade, economic, and financial ties and had adverse consequences for many countries. The USSR's losses were talked about earlier.

So I would answer the claims that the events surrounding Kuwait could give us certain "advantages" as follows: If you approach the issue by the strictest criteria, so to speak, it should be noted that the formation of a new seat of tension in our modern, closely interrelated, and mutually dependent world cannot bring any country any appreciable benefits whatsoever, particularly in the long term—political or economic. The responsibility for the extreme situations which arise and will still arise, it seems, in the sphere of trade and economic ties in the region and in the world lies entirely with those who have created these situations. Our urgent task, however, as the USSR Supreme Soviet order of 16 August particularly stresses, is to draw up quickly specific measures to minimize the losses to the country which could result from the events surrounding Kuwait. These measures are now being drawn up.

Governed by the principle of the mandatory nature of Security Council decisions on all UN member states, our country will observe the regime established by Resolution 661. I would like to believe that the crisis in the Persian Gulf region will be eliminated by political means and the obstacles thereby removed to the renewal and development of traditional, mutually beneficial Soviet-Iraqi cooperation, which, as experience has shown, is capable of yielding good fruit to both sides.

Saddam States Position on Gulf Issues

Troops To Stay in Kuwait

LD2608091290 Moscow TASS in English 0907 GMT 26 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yefremov]

[Text] Cairo August 26 TASS—Iraqi troops will not withdraw from Kuwait, Iraqi President Saddam Husayn has said.

Meeting Austrian reporters in Baghdad on Saturday night, he said, referring to Kuwait, that "there has never been a country with such a name" and that Kuwait had been created by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency to "deny Iraq access to the sea", the Cairo-based MENA news agency reported from he Iraqi capital.

Saddam denied that Iraq was holding foreigners hostage. He said foreigners had been deployed at strategic sites in Iraq to "save the lives of Americans, Iraqis and other people".

The president said any attack on Iraq would result in "endless columns of dead bodies."

Blames U.S., Saudis

LD2608092290 Moscow TASS in English 0915 GMT 26 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Malyarov]

[Text] Cairo, August 26 TASS—Iraqi President Saddam Husayn has accused the United States and Saudi Arabia of "Thwarting inter-Arab efforts to settle" the Persian Gulf crisis.

He warned the United States that any attack on Iraq would result in "endless columns of dead bodies".

Saddam strongly denounced a U.N. Security Council resolution allowing armed enforcement of sanctions against Iraq. He said Iraq would not recognise what he described as a "U.S. decision to blockade Iraq".

Iraq said on Saturday anyone who was hiding foreigners in Iraq and Kuwait would be hanged. A statement by the ruling Revolutionary Command Council said giving shelter to foreigners would be considered an "act of espionage".

According to reports coming from Baghdad, all Embassies in Kuwait that have not been closed yet, have been sieged by troops. Electricity and telephone services were repeatedly cut off to those embassies on Saturday. At some embassies, electricity has not been restored.

The director of an Iraqi Information Centre, Naj al-Haditi, said "no force has been used against people who have been denied their diplomatic immunity". But, he added, these people "no longer enjoy the privileges and rights of diplomats".

Iraq has sent a number of warplanes to Sudan, the Egyptian GAZETTE said today, quoting military sources in the Gulf.

It said Iraq had already deployed missiles and launchers on Sudan's Red Sea coast, from which they could hit targets in Saudi Arabia and the Red Sea.

It was earlier reported that Iraq had sent bombers and commandos to Yemen.

Sudan and Yemen have not officially denied or confirmed the reports.

Iraqi National Council Chairman Condemns Bush

LD2408202190 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yefremov]

[Text] Cairo August 24 TASS—Sa'di Mahdi Salih, chairman of the Iraqi National Council (parliament), has accused President Bush of actions aimed at starting a war in the region, MENA reports. Chairman of the Iraqi Parliament's open letter of the Iraqi Parliament to the American people, circulated in Baghdad this evening, stresses "that thousands of Arabs and Americans will be killed in this war. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Sa'di Mahdi Salih said that Iraq had no intention to attack Saudi Arabia and did not threaten U.S. and Western interests in the region. Touching upon the annexation of Kuwait, he compared it with the unification of the north and the south in the United States.

He urged U.S. citizens to denounce Bush's policy and insist on the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the region and the lifting of the blockade of Iraq.

Gorbachev, Turkish President Discuss Gulf Crisis

PM2708132690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Telephone Conversation Between Soviet and Turkish Presidents"]

[Text] On 25 August Turkish President Turgut Ozal telephoned M.S. Gorbachev. A very substantive, amicable conversation took place.

The favorable development of economic ties was noted and certain major new ideas expressed on this score. The speakers noted with satisfaction the spirit of good-neighborliness which characterizes Soviet-Turkish relations, which is particularly valuable at the present-day stage of international development and in conditions of in-depth and rapid perestroyka in the USSR.

M.S. Gorbachev confirmed the invitation to the Turkish president to make an official visit to the USSR. They agreed to hold more regular consultations on any questions affecting the two countries' interests and—particularly during these anxious days—to keep each other apprised of events.

The presidents noted with satisfaction their deep mutual understanding in relation to the situation in the Persian Gulf region and approaches to its solution: The Security Council resolutions must be carried out, this will make it possible to prevent any aggravation of the conflict and to settle it by peaceful means. Special attention was paid to the question of foreign citizens in Iraq and the Iraqi authorities' responsibility to ensure their safety and afford them the opportunity to leave the country.

The role which the Arab world is called upon to perform in settling the conflict was noted.

The presidents expressed their joint desire to maintain and augment dialogue.

Egypt's Foreign Minister To Discuss Gulf Crisis

Leaves for Moscow 26 Aug

LD2608151790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1435 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Cairo, August 26 (TASS)—Ismat 'Abd-Al-Majid, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt, left Cairo today for a visit to the USSR. The MENA agency reports that he will hand a personal message from President Husni Mubarak to USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and will also hold talks with E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, on issues regarding the situation in the Persian Gulf.

Earlier today the Egyptian minister of foreign affairs told a news conference in Cairo that his visit to Moscow is part of the very intensive consultations being conducted by Egypt with the Soviet Government on questions of the situation in the Persian Gulf. He noted that he is visiting Moscow with pleasure to discuss with his colleague E.A. Shevardnadze the evolution of the situation in the region. This discussion is being held in the interests of stability and peace in the area, the minister stressed, he also noted that active contacts with the USSR are an important element in Egypt's foreign policy as a whole.

Meets Gorbachev, Shevardnadze

LD2708133290 Moscow TASS in English 1324 GMT 27 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow August 27 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev met Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid who arrived in Moscow for a short working visit on Sunday.

The problem of settling the crisis situation in the Persian Gulf was in the spotlight of discussion. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze took part in the conversation.

Mideast Envoy Sytenko Continues Gulf Talks

Meets Iraqi Foreign Minister

PM2608162990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by IAN correspondent Ye. Mikitenko for IZVESTIYA: "Soviet Representative in Baghdad"]

[Text] M.D. Sytenko, special representative of the Soviet leadership, who is on a tour of a number of Arab countries, was received yesterday by T. 'Aziz, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Iraq.

During a lengthy discussion the sides laid out their positions regarding the tense situation in the Persian Gulf region. Special attention was paid to the need to solve the prevailing situation by political means. It was stressed that it is now particularly important to avoid any spiraling of military confrontation.

The participants in the meeting advocated continuing contacts between the USSR and Iraq on this question of paramount significance for the maintenance of peace, stability, and security in the region.

V.V. Posuvalyuk, USSR ambassador to Iraq, took part in the conversation.

Meets With PLO's 'Arafat

LD2608210390 Moscow TASS in English 2052 GMT 26 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Lagutin]

[Text] Tunis, August 26 TASS—Yasir 'Arafat, head of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, met with the special envoy of the Soviet leadership Mikhail Sytenko in Baghdad on Sunday, the Palestinian news agency WAFA reports. According to WAFA, they exchanged views on the situation in the Gulf area in the light of a dangerous concentration there of the troops of the United States and its allies.

'Arafat supported a more active and important role of the Soviet Union in lessening tension in the region and promoting the efforts of Arab countries aimed at settling the crisis without foreign interference and threats. The Palestinian leader categorically rejected U.S. attempts to impose its influence on the region and to set its terms.

The sides discussed issues dealing with the situation in occupied lands, WAFA reports. They supported the efforts aimed at the termination of the Israeli occupation and the granting to the Arab people of Palestine of the right to self-determination and the creation of their own state.

Evacuation of Citizens From Iraq Continues

Foreign Ministry Comments

LD2508141890 Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman announced today that it is planned to begin on August 26 the evacuation of wives and children of Soviet specialists working in Iraq, as well as Soviet citizens sent there on a business trip. The first group of 260 people, including 187 women and 50 children, will fly to Moscow from Baghdad on that day by a special Aeroflot flight. They will arrive in Moscow on August 27, at about 05.00.

The second, third and fourth groups have also been formed. They will fly to Moscow on August 28, 30 and 31. The last special flight is expected to end the evacuation to the USSR of children, practically all women and Soviet citizens on a business trip. A total of 950 people will be evacuated.

Women, Children Leave

LD2608165290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1405 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 26 Aug (TASS)—The evacuation of the members of the families of Soviet specialists working in Iraq is beginning today. To the present day there are 983 women and children in the country. It is planned that all of the children—274 of them and 569 women—will be brought from Baghdad to the Soviet Union on four special Aeroflot flights (27, 29 and 31 August and 1 September). One hundred and forty women (without children) who are working on contracts and also in Soviet establishments will remain in Iraq for the time being.

The first group (260 people), including 187 women and 50 children, should arrive in Moscow on 27 August at approximately 0500.

Military Specialists Remain

PM2608200790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 90 p 4

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA editor's answer to letter by reader P. Sorokin: "Farewell, Saddam?"—first paragraph is letter]

[Text] "What are our military servicemen in Iraq doing now, during the military conflict? When will they return home?"

[Signed] P. Sorokin

As reported to us by Major I. Skrylnik, staff member at the USSR Defense Ministry press center, almost 200 Soviet military men are continuing to carry out work envisaged by contracts with the Iraqi side. In Iraq there are only military specialists, whose status is distinct from that of military advisers and does not allow them to take part in the planning, preparation, or conduct of combat operations or redeployment of troops.

Only the USSR Government is empowered to make the decision to return the servicemen home. Clearly, everything will depend on the nature of further events in the conflict zone. The evacuation of members of servicemen's families will start before 30 August.

Iraqi Troops Reportedly Enter PRC Embassy

LD2708093190 Moscow TASS in English 0917 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Cairo August 27 TASS—Iraqi troops entered the building of China's embassy in Kuwait this morning, the MENA news agency has reported.

This was the first time Iraqi occupation troops seized the diplomatic mission of a country that has refused to close it in Kuwait, as ordered by Baghdad.

Other embassies remain sieged by Iraqi troops.

According to reports coming here, troops continued to arrest foreigners in their apartments and hotels in Kuwait and Iraq.

Iraqis Demonstrate at U.S. Embassy in Moscow

LD2508051190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0352 GMT 25 Aug 90

[From the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] [M. Osokin] An unusual demonstration took place outside the U.S. Embassy building here, in Moscow, yesterday:

[Correspondent S. Milyanchikov] Students from Iraq studying at Soviet higher education establishments assembled outside the walls of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow on Friday. Admittedly, they call themselves Arab students for some reason, although students from the majority of Arab states hardly share the content of their slogans, which, although addressed to the Americans, are for some reason written in Arabic and Russian, but not in English.

What else stands out? Everywhere the Americans are called aggressors, whereas in Russian the word aggressor is used for invaders, those who have already committed aggression. Perhaps the students who wrote those slogans are not completely familiar with the subtleties of the Russian language, or else they cannot see how the events in the Persian Gulf exploded.

A statement by the Arab students from Iraq was distributed at the rally. Let me quote just a couple of sentences: America is directly sending enemies and determining their steps and decisions, at the level of implementing military aggression against Iraq and our Arab nation, the students' appeal says. Our Arab people have the strength to force recognition of their free will and the possibility for them to determine for themselves their future and their fate.

I believe any commentaries are already superfluous here. [video shows U.S. Embassy building, people holding banners standing and marching outside. Banners show Saddam Husayn in Arab headdress, Iraqi flags. Two Russian-language banners read: Iraq and Kuwait will become the tomb of the American invaders, and We are against the American invaders!]

Palestinian Leader Comments on Gulf Situation

LD2408170390 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1400 GMT 24 Aug 90

[From the program: "Corner of Palestine Arab People"]

[Text] [Announcer] Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DFLP], has expressed his views concerning the situation in the Gulf region at a press interview:

[Begin recording] [unidentified interviewer] The foreign news agencies have reported that the Palestinians of the occupied territories support Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, and that some of them have gone even further to the extent of naming their newly-born children Saddam, after the Iraqi president. What can you say about this?

[Hawatimah] The statements of the news agencies are not exactly correct. The Palestinian people in the occupied territories have suffered the occupation of their country, and consequently know well what occupation means. It was because of this that Palestinian personalities have declared attitudes and made statements calling for nonaggression on the lands of others by force, which is contrary to UN and Security Council resolutions, and for the ending of Iraq's occupation of Kuwait, and at the same time for the solving of all problems between Iraq and Kuwait through dialogue and negotiations—not by way of warships, fleets, and the diplomacy of U.S. guns.

As regards settlements, we must note that the Palestinian people have been living for 23 years under occupation, and that the United States has supported this occupation and has done nothing to end it. Furthermore, it has refused the imposition of any sanctions, be they military, economic, or political, against the Israeli occupation. Hence, from a psychological point of view, the people of the occupied territories try to express their wrath and pain at the U.S. pro-Israel stance in all forms available and to denounce the 23 years of occupation.

[Interviewer] What are the likely development of the grave events in the Gulf region?

[Hawatimah] I believe that the region is moving rapidly toward a wide-scale war and the spreading of the fire beyond the perimeter of Kuwait and Iraq. I mean that the fire will cover Iraq, the Gulf region, the Arabian Peninsula and perhaps even the Middle East region, because Israel too is contemplating its own role for the attainment of its own objectives. It might try to occupy some Jordanian territory so as to adjoin the Iraqi borders and take part in the aggressive military operations alongside the United States.

For this reason, we call for solving all problems by means of negotiations and peaceful ways on a just basis, which would guarantee a just solution acceptable to both the Iraqi and Kuwaiti people. A just solution would meet the legitimate interests of the peoples of the Gulf region and guarantee their rights to self-determination away from the use of force or the threat of force. This demands, first and foremost, the departure of the U.S. and the multinational forces, which only serve their own interests. By this I mean that it [as heard] wants to turn the Arabian peninsula and the Gulf into an oil lake belonging to Washington and its allies—the Gulf region should be an oil lake for its own people, for development and progress in the Third World, and for serving the cause of the balance of the world economy. The oil should not be taken to U.S. markets for pumping oil dollars into U.S. banks and establishments.

[Interviewer] Thank you very much. [end recording]

Kuwaiti Envoy Interviewed on Persian Gulf

LD2508183890 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1300 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Interview with 'Abd al-Mohsen al-Du'ayj, Kuwaiti ambassador to the USSR, by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] My first question, Mr. Ambassador, is what are your views on Saddam Husayn's decision to use Western hostages as a shield against any possible strike?

[Al-Du'ayj] This is yet another of the confused and wrong decisions made by President Saddam Husayn. By such a decision, President Saddam Husayn has brought ill-repute to himself and to his government and to the dear Iraqi people. There was no need for such a step, which is not desired nor liked, and he knows how the Western countries view such an act.

[Correspondent] Do you think that the Iraqi president will use chemical weapons if his regime is faced with any danger?

[Al-Du'ayj] We do not think this unlikely—I mean, we expect it from him.

[Correspondent] Can you imagine the danger that would exist if the Iraqi president possessed nuclear weapons at this moment?

[Al-Du'ayj] We now face one of two possibilities. Perhaps Iraqi President Saddam Husayn wants to say to us that should war break out, I will use chemical weapons and I will strike at the oil resources or installations. His aim in saying this is to make us say to him that since you will strike at the oil resources and will use chemical weapons against us, then it is better that you take Kuwait. With due respect to the mental powers of the Iraqi president, we say that we reject such a line of thinking in part and in whole. We know that you possess chemical weapons and that you could strike at the oil refineries, but this is war and war means losses. But you too will not escape losses.

[Correspondent] Saddam Husayn embarked on his aggression hoping that there would be no Arab unity to confront his acts. Unfortunately, his hopes came true to a certain degree. We have seen a lack of complete accord at the Cairo summit. Nevertheless, there are some who call for solving the crisis within the framework of the Arab world alone and refuse world cooperation against aggression. But can the crisis be really solved and Kuwait's sovereignty be restored within the framework of an Arab solution alone?

[Al-Du'ayj] Unfortunately, some Arab leaders do not realize the gravity of the situation. We as Kuwaitis and behind us our brothers in the region, the Saudis and the gulf countries, are the ones near the fire and whose feet are in the fire while they are the ones who are sitting on the fence. When they say that the solution should be an Arab one, I wish to ask them and their fraternal and friendly peoples, most logically, which Arab country that stands now on the side of the Iraqi President such as Jordan or Yemen has the power to force Saddam Husayn militarily to leave Kuwait? I am sorry to see some Arab leaders distort the situation turning it from one of an Iraqi invasion and annexation of Kuwait to one of the presence of foreign forces.

The presence of foreign forces falls at the end of the sequence of events. The matter is one of cause and effect. We must first fight the cause that led to the presence of these forces. The cause is the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. This invasion is the cause for the presence of foreign forces in Kuwait. It is not that there were foreign forces in the region and Saddam Husayn attacked Kuwait to take it and liberate it from foreign forces. [passage omitted]

I believe that our Arab brothers should reject the violation of international law and the invasion of one country by another. What would Jordan say if one of its Arab neighbors were to annex it, or if Tunisia was attacked by one of its neighboring countries? Would such acts be justified because they were committed by Arabs?

[Correspondent] Mr. Ambassador, do you have any information about the popular resistance in Kuwait?

[Al-Du'ayj] Yes. I wish we could share in the resistance. However, from here we too can perform our duty. We address a message to them which we hope they are listening to from the friendly Soviet radio network: We are proud of you. We support you and are with you. We feel proud of your actions. Kuwait is your country. Continue your resistance. We hear its news. We know that your Arab brothers resident in Kuwait are also with you. We know also that some Iraqi soldiers are with you. Every honorable man abhors aggression and what is wrong and upholds only what is right. March forward; we are with you.

[Correspondent] Mr. Ambassador, what do you think of the Soviet stance toward the Gulf crisis.

[Al-Du'ayj] [passage omitted] You are asking for my views on the Soviet attitude. I say to you that the attitude of the Soviet people, media and government led by President Gorbachev has been honorable; let all Arab brothers in the region hear me say it.

[Correspondent] There is a great deal of talk in Palestinian circles to the effect that the current crisis preoccupies the world public from attending to the most important issue in the Middle East, namely, the Palestine question. But was it not Saddam Husayn who started the Iraq-Iran war in 1979 and thus diverted the attention of the world public away from the Palestine question and was it not Saddam Husayn who launched the current aggression? In light of all this, what do you think of the Palestinian leadership's attitude toward the crisis and their way of solving it?

[Al-Du'ayj] This, indeed, is an excellent question and I thank you for asking it, and I wish to address this question to the Arab brothers in our Arab homeland.

When Saudi Prince Bandar Bin Sultan met with Arab ambassadors, Palestinian Ambassador Nabil 'Amr was also present. He, naturally, praised the stance taken by Prince Bandar and that of his country—which deserves praise—and then appealed to Prince Bandar to show complete consideration for the Palestinian citizens in the Gulf, those Palestinians who reside in the Gulf and earn their living in the Gulf and enjoy the support of the Gulf countries. Prince Bandar reassured him saying there was no need for him to appeal to him to do so for we have informed the Palestinian ambassador in Riyadh of our attitude toward our Palestinian brothers. We see no connection between our Palestinian brothers and the attitude taken by the Palestinian leadership or some members of it or what they say. We support the Palestine question wholeheartedly and our Palestinian brothers are aware of this.

I say to Palestinian Ambassador Nabil 'Amr: If you are keen on safeguarding the brother Palestinians in the Gulf, why then do you daily hold news conferences in Moscow to detract from the conditions of the region. This will be of no help. You have a great cause and a great problem. So if you fail to take the right stance, one which rejects aggression, then at least favor us with your silence.

[Correspondent] Thank you, Mr. Ambassador. [passage omitted]

Commentaries Continue Assessing Regional Crisis

Debate Over Soviet Role

PM2408185390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "Did Moscow Know of the Aggression That Was Being Prepared?"]

[Text] Geneva—Did the Soviet Union know of the aggression that Baghdad was preparing against Kuwait? Did the Kremlin have prior information—via its many advisers and specialists who were working and are continuing to work in Iraq—on Saddam Husayn's plans? What are the Soviet military in this country doing now?

All those questions have been actively debated in the Western press in recent days.

Many observers, the Paris-based U.S. paper INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE writes in its issue for Thursday, believe that the Soviet military on assignment in Iraq do not hold sufficiently high posts to be up on the Baghdad regime's strategic plans.

Some Western experts believe that some of our military in Iraq were seeing that the Soviet military hardware supplied to Baghdad did not fall into the hands of other governments. This is why, the experts point out, the Soviet military still remain in Iraq although Moscow has now ceased weapons deliveries to Baghdad in accordance with the UN resolution.

That is not the only viewpoint being expressed about our knowledge of Iraq's plans to seize Kuwait. Thus in an article published in the same paper Peter Schweizer, a staffer of the American Foreign Policy Council, claims that Moscow and Baghdad cooperated closely in the military sphere, particularly in the collection of intelligence data, and that the Soviet military advisers and specialists played a decisive role in training the Iraqi Armed Forces.

P. Schweizer quotes a U.S. military intelligence source as saying that Saddam Husayn could not have carried out the aggression without the knowledge of Soviet specialists.

However, other Western experts essentially reject P. Schweizer's statement, stressing that the operation to invade Kuwait did not require great technical preparation, did not need Soviet military assistance, and was carried out without the knowledge of our military.

"With all due respect to the KGB," Andrew Duncan, staffer of the London International Institute for Strategic Studies, notes, "I think that it cannot have officers everywhere. And if you are an instructor teaching people to service an Su-24 missile launcher, you are hardly going to attach special significance to the fact that tanks have been moved from one place to another.

"I doubt that the Soviets knew of the aggression that was being prepared," A. Duncan continues. "There are constant military alerts and exercises in Iraq, which was at war with Iran for eight years, and the Baghdad authorities did not necessarily notify their own troops of the planned invasion."

Saadet Deger, staffer of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and a specialist on Persian Gulf problems, does not agree with P. Schweizer either. She points out that Iraq had openly stated its claims to Kuwait ever since 1961 and the threats from Baghdad which preceded the attack would not necessarily have aroused Moscow's concern.

Even many Iraqis, Saadet Deger writes, did not expect the aggression, and Saddam Husayn, who commands an army of one million men, does not need 100 Soviet advisers in order to occupy a tiny country.

"The Iraqis have acquired great military experience and they had no difficulty in seizing Kuwait," William Gutteridge, executive director of the London Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism, believes. He notes that from satellites the United States had just as much information as the USSR about Iraqi troop movements. But it lacked the "human factor" making it possible to discern Saddam Husayn's true intentions.

If Moscow is really prepared to help the West to settle the crisis, certain experts believe, it should provide the United States with information concerning the Soviet weapons supplied to Iraq. The Pentagon, in particular, the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE writes, wants to know whether the Soviet "surface-to-surface" missiles in Baghdad's possession can be fitted with nuclear warheads and whether these missiles can be modified to carry chemical warheads.

Position Termed 'Uncomfortable'

LD2508142890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer Sisnev] Igor Sergeyevich Fesunenko, political observer and one could say a constant guest of Gosteleradio, is with me in the studio now. Good day, Igor Sergeyevich. We have invited him here to talk about the alarming situation in the Persian Gulf region which, as you all know, is continuing to deteriorate. The world press is publishing increasingly pessimistic forecasts, and the possibility of a military clash in this region is not excluded. [passage omitted]

Igor Sergeyevich, what do you think about our position, and in what direction it might change?

[Fesunenko] Once again we are in a rather awkard position. In the first place, the whole world has seen us in the really uncomfortable role of a supplier of weapons to a country which has become an odious aggressor. According to western data—our data is still closed off—we have sold about $10 billion worth of armaments to Iraq. We have not received all these billions and we may never receive them.

Naturally, we must now try to get out of this position which is uncomfortable from a political and moral point view. Using this good reason and suitable occasion, I telephoned a quite high-ranking official of the Foreign Ministry and asked why there was now talk of the evacuation from Iraq only of women and children—while our civilian specialists continue to work there. How does this tie in with our support of the well-known decisions of the Security Council on economic sanctions after Iraq? The reply was evasive. I do not blame this, I repeat, high-ranking Foreign Ministry official. When it comes down to it, it does not depend on the Foreign Ministry whether our civilian specialists, geologists, builders, not to mention military specialists, will work in a specific country.

[Sisnev] Our foreign minister stated at the beginning of the present conflict that the Soviet Union has halted all military deliveries to Iraq. What does this word halted mean? How do you understand it?

[Fesunenko] It can be understood in various ways. Maybe they have been halted for the duration of the war, as we did once already at the beginning of the Iran-Iraq war. Maybe these deliveries, after the conflict has ended, will be renewed. I do not know what is to be understood by this. There are various interpretations possible here. But from my point of view, at last the time has come for a final and fundamental reexaminaton of our mutual relations of such a character with Third World countries, with developing countries.

[Sisnev] So you consider that this seizure of Kuwait by Iraq will, on the whole, put the very principle of our cooperation with these states under question, yes?

[Fesunenko] Yes, they have long since been placed under question. But this situation now has revealed the absurdity and unnaturalness of our frequent, so called aid, especially military aid, to Third World countries. This paternalism of ours, this feeding by us of frequently odious dictatorial regimes, which call themselves anti-imperialist and progressive, and on this basis alone we send weapons, money, food, anything there. I think that the time has finally come to put military aid to Third World countries, our military aid, under parliamentary control. More than once I have seen how this is done in deeds, how weapons are thrown about, in whose hands they end up—it is a terrible picture from every point of view. It is not just a matter of huge profits, because Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Cuba, Cambodia, Vietnam and many other countries will never return even a small part of the expenditures on weaponry which we had supplied them with. But it is not just this. [passage omitted]

I think, summing up, that we show our solidarity with the future of the peoples of the whole planet too zealously, and now, finally, the time has come to show solidarity with our own people.

Iraq Likened to Israel

PM2608180190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 90 First Edition p 7

[Article by Vladimir Belyakov, "own correspondent on the Near East countries," under the rubric: "View From Moscow": "Still Not Too Late To Cover Up the Guns"]

[Text] In an instant everything has been turned upside down in the Near East. Iraq, which had always roundly condemned Israeli aggression and occupation and which had dispatched its own troops to the eastern front during the war of October 1973, has itself become like Israel, attacking an Arab neighbor and swallowing it up. Iraq's former allies in the war against Iran—the Arab monarchies of the Persian Gulf and Egypt—have turned into its enemies. While it failed to conquer, Iraq did nevertheless build up during the war years the kind of might which sought another outlet, and it found it in the shape of little Kuwait. The Iraqi gun, hung on the wall with the Arabs' help in the first act of this drama, was fired at the Arabs themselves in the final act.

Recent sworn enemies—Iraq and Iran—are quickly normalizing their relations. It cannot be ruled out that they could form a united front.

The United States, which has for 23 years been propping up Israel and its policy of aggression and expansion against the Arabs, now opposes Iraq's aggression. While not recognizing the Palestinian people's sovereignty on their native soil, it zealously upholds Kuwaiti sovereignty. On the other hand, ordinary Arabs and certain regimes too have not only found the transfer of U.S. troops to the region unwelcome but regard it as virtually an act of aggression. To tens of millions of Arabs the Western military presence is a vestige of the ignominious period of colonialism, and this idea is unusually firmly entrenched in the mass mind.

Such sharp shifts seemed inconceivable even a month ago, when I had just begun my vacation in Moscow, but shortly afterward—vacation over—they became reality.

Once, when defining the strategic approach to the struggle against Israeli aggression and occupation, the following formula was cited in the Arab world: "What has been seized by force must also be restored by force." And it seemed that the October 1973 war against Israel confirmed the correctness of this formula. But then a long "period of stagnation," one which has not been overcome to this day, befell the Near East. Both sides built up their weapons quantitatively and improved them qualitatively, to the extent of Israel's equipping itself with the atomic bomb—so experts believe. The use of military force became tantamount to self-destruction.

It is my deep conviction that this formula does not apply to the crisis in the Persian Gulf zone. An attempt to liberate Kuwait by force, whoever undertakes it, will result in a sea of blood. Iraq has the largest army in the Near East, with 1 million men who are well-armed and well-trained and who have been tempered by the eight-year war with Iran. According to Iraqi press reports, another 1.5 million men have declared their readiness to join up if the need arises. If the United States becomes Iraq's military adversary, hundreds of thousands of Arabs and probably Iranians too will join this host. As is well known, Iraq possesses chemical weapons and, according to NEWSWEEK, biological ones too. It will scarcely be possible to ensure the safety of the tens of thousands of foreigners in Iraq and occupied Kuwait. Hostilities could provoke a wave of worldwide terrorism: Quite a few "hotheads," particularly among the Palestinians and Lebanese, have connections with the Iraqis. In short, one does not even want to contemplate the consequences of such a turn of events.

"Everything is clear here," a reader will say: "The United States does not, it seems, intend for the time being to liberate Kuwait by force." No, it does not for the time being intend to. Although President Bush does not rule out such an option. But the very logic of confrontation and military counterposition could lead to bloodshed. Washington's hope, judging by numerous statements by American officials, is that strict implementation of economic sanctions against Iraq backed up, if need be, by force will eventually compel Iraq to reverse field. But you have to know the Iraqi regime: It will scarcely yield to pressure. The dictatorship of the Ba'th Party headed by the president-leader bizarrely combines nationalist slogans with social protection for workers and employees, loud anti-imperialism with privileges for the military, and strict imposition of uniform thinking with a pretty high standard of living for all the population. Nor should one forget the new realities—first and foremost, Iranian-Iraqi reconciliation, which could nullify the whole boycott system. Moreover, the use of force to implement sanctions threatens to provoke Iraqi counteraction, and then you have a war.

As we can see, everything favors launching an active search for a political solution to the crisis at all levels—the United Nations, the Nonaligned Movement, the Islamic states. The prerequisites for this do exist, in my view. Iraq has already stated more than once its readiness to sit down at the negotiating table. True, its proposal to link the "settlement of the Kuwait problem" to the withdrawal of foreign troops from all the occupied lands in the Near East on an identical basis looks unrealistic. The Arab-Israeli conflict and the Lebanese crisis are too complex, and they are not directly linked to the crisis in the Persian Gulf. But Baghdad does not object to U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia being replaced by Arab contingents, with their national makeup, strength, and location being determined within the UN Security Council. I do not know whether E.A. Shevardnadze had this or something else in mind, but he did state in the interview he gave to TASS' diplomatic correspondent on 20 August that the Iraqi initiative contains "elements which deserve serious attention."

A new initiative is needed if a political settlement is to be reached, and it should come from a state which enjoys authority among the sides in conflict. It seems to me that our country is in the best position for this. The Soviet Union and Iraq are linked by long-standing bonds of cooperation and our states have built up solid experience of contacts. As was shown by the very fact of this week's working visit to Moscow by Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister S. Hammadi and the fact that the Iraqi leadership's trust in us has not been undermined by Soviet hostility to its actions. The USSR and Kuwait have also enjoyed good relations for many years. Ties are being established with Saudi Arabia, witness the visit to Moscow by Prince Bandar Bin-Sultan, special representative of the Saudi leadership. And we are united with yet another active player in the crisis, the United States, by more than just our condemnation of Iraqi aggression and its occupation of Kuwait. All this guarantees that any Soviet initiative will be received by the interested parties in an unbiased way.

The idea of simultaneously withdrawing Iraqi troops from Kuwait and U.S. troops from Saudi Arabia, with their replacement by pan-Arab forces under the observation of UN representatives, could, in my view, form the crux of such an initiative. Perhaps this idea will appear unacceptable in Baghdad or elsewhere at present, but I do not think that any of the sides rejects the actual path of negotiation. The alternative is too frightening.... And any well-considered initiative would stimulate the search for a mutually acceptable political solution.

And, of course, an international mechanism is essential. Initially it would probably be simplest to hold consultations in New York at the level of the representatives of the interested parties at the United Nations. At a later stage, however, a special international conference with the participation of all states involved in any way in the conflict plus the five permanent members of the UN Security Council could be a useful instrument.

Of course, the ideas expressed here merely represent the "thinking aloud" of someone who has studied the problems of the Near East for two decades. Soviet diplomats have certainly been working recently on "arrangements of our own" [domashniye zagotovki] for future political contacts. But time marches on. If a political mechanism is not gotten underway today, it could already be too late by tomorrow. The course of events will get out of control, which could have catastrophic consequences.

Afghanistan' Najibullah Continues Moscow Visit

Gorbachev, Ryzhkov Talks Viewed

LD2408175390 Moscow TASS in English 1706 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah told a news conference in Moscow today that understanding on all questions discussed was reached during a conversation he had with President Mikhail Gorbachev. Upon concluding vacationing in Sochi, the president of the Republic of Afghanistan arrived in Moscow where he had meetings with Gorbachev, Nikolay Ryzhkov and other leaders.

He said that the meeting with the Soviet president proceeded in the atmosphere of sincerity and comradely openness. "Time has come to expand cooperation between our countries in all directions, including the activity of separate enterprises and union republics," Najibullah said.

Najibullah expressed compassion with Soviet women whose sons were killed, injured or taken prisoner and made the assurances that his government will exert every effort to bring about the release of Soviet prisoners-of-war.

Najibullah said that in the recent months the Armed Forces of the republic cleared three vital routes for normal traffic and carried out a number of other successful operations.

Certain changes have taken place in the attitude of Western countries to the Afghan question, Najibullah said in answer to a question from TASS. He said that France and Italy opened again their embassy in Kabul, that the tone of the U.S. press has changed, that articles started to appear which say that the military road of the solution of the Afghan problem will not lead to success. Najibullah also expressed the hope that realism will prevail in the United States.

The Afghan Government conducts consistently the policy of national reconciliation, he said. The state of emergency has been lifted. Powers were restored to parliament. A new government was formed. Two-thirds of the number of cabinet ministers are non-party people. They are not members of the Fatherland Party (which in the recent past was called the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan—editor).

The mention of the guiding role of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan was removed from the Constitution, and the party itself was renamed into the Fatherland Party.

The main provision of its programme is to end the war. As a result of this two-thirds of the number of field commanders stopped hostilities against the government and entered talks, which enabled several Soviet prisoners-of-war to return home.

Negotiations are under way with some leaders of a moderate part of the opposition. The Iranian "nine" moves away from the Pashawar "seven" and expresses a striving for a constructive dialogue, Najibullah said.

"On the other hand, we see that contradictions are growing among the opposition and that even leaders of the opposition say that the so-called 'government' of transition formed on Pakistani territory is illegal. Terrorism, drugs trafficking and contraband are characteristic of the opposition. The experience of the past 12 years showed that the opposition's approach to the solution of the Afghan question has always been based on deception. It is striving to undermine positive processes," Najibullah said.

Belousov Attends Talks

PM2608142990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 24 August N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met at the Kremlin with Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, who is vacationing in the Soviet Union.

A wide range of questions concerning Soviet-Afghan political collaboration and bilateral economic cooperation was examined.

I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Soviet section of the Soviet-Afghan intergovernmental standing commission on economic cooperation, took part in the work.

Relations Termed 'Friendly'

LD2508134790 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0450 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Kabul, Aug 24 (BAKHTAR)—Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan [RA] met on August 23, 1990 with Mikhail Gorbachev president of the Soviet Union and Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of that country, reported TASS.

During the meeting, M. Gorbachev, spoke on the importance of key issues to be solved in the near future in that country.

Then President Najibullah informed the Soviet leaders on the measures adopted by the RA Government for political solution of the Afghan issue as well as implementation of the national reconciliation policy.

The sides stated that strict statistics of all inside and outside possibilities and developments for expedation the process resulting in the cessation of war and ensurance of peace in Afghanistan, have brought about results.

They have also talked in relation to the friendly and traditional relations existed between the RA-USSR and stressed on the protection [word indistinct] (?traditional) relations.

The leaders of the two countries exchanged views on existed relations and mutual obligations on basic lines of RA-USSR cooperation and stressed on the strengthening of these mutually beneficial cooperation. The RA and the USSR leaders have also exchanged views on recent events taken place in Gulf region as well as Iraq-Kuwait problem.

Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan and Nikolay Ryzhkov, Soviet prime minister met at Kremlin Palace today.

Both sides talked on a broad range of issues pertaining to Afghan-Soviet political and economic cooperation.

At the outset, the situation in Afghanistan in the context of the Afghan leadership's dynamic policies and RA Government constructive proposals aimed at reaching international and inter-Afghan accords for the restoration of peace was studied and discussed.

President Najibullah made a high assessment of the efforts of the Soviet Union towards the solution of the Afghan problem including its external dimension and the Soviet's all-sided assistance at this difficult moment. The support of the Soviet Union was tangibly helped the policy of national reconciliation and the democratic change in Afghanistan.

The Afghan-Soviet economic relations had a prominent place at the talk. During the, talks, emphasis was put on the need to make a fuller use of the existing potential and to make such relations mutually-beneficial.

Najibullah expressed the deep gratitude of the Afghan leadership to the Soviet people for this all-sided support and solidarity with the people of Afghanistan.

President Najibullah had also a meeting with the Moscow mayor during which the sides exchanged views on matters of mutual interests.

Najibullah Interviewed on Ties

LD2508201790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1743 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Interview with Afghan President Najibullah by an unidentified correspondent for Moscow Television during his vacation in the USSR—recorded; Najibullah speaks in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Esteemed president of the Republic of Afghanistan. You have had a meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, president of the Soviet Union. What is your assessment of the present state and future of relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan in the context of that conversation?

[Najibullah] Thank you for the question. I would like to point out right away that my meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was conducted in an atmosphere of friendship, mutual understanding, and frankness. In Afghanistan Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is well known as an outstanding politician, a consistent fighter for peace, and a sincere friend of the Afghan people who advocates rendering aid and support to Afghanistan in its efforts to achieve a political settlement of the Afghan problem, an end to the bloodshed, and the establishment of a lasting peace in our country. As for relations between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, it should be noted that they are rooted deep in history. [passage omitted]

Over the past 10-15 years our relations have acquired a special nature, and this was particularly evident during the stay by Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Over those years the bonds of friendship between our peoples became even stronger and the interests of our countries became closely intertwined. A substantial section of Afghan society has sincerely bound up its future with Afghan-Soviet friendship.

It is common knowledge that the Soviet and Afghan leaders have courageously acknowledged the error of the decision to send Soviet troops into Afghanistan. I can say in all responsibility that our people and the Afghan leadership take an understanding view of the Soviet Union's interests, considering it important for themselves to assist comprehensively in attaining Soviet policy objectives.

At the same time I cannot conceal the fact that sincere friends of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, who are currently waging a difficult battle against the unceasing aggression and armed intervention, are closely following the reaction in your country to the present events in Afghanistan. They are clearly entitled to assume that the Soviet Union, too, bears a certain moral responsibility for ensuring that these forces devoted to the ideals of Afghan-Soviet friendship are given a worthy place in the future structures of Afghan society.

In this context I would like to touch on individual unobjective assessments that have begun to be heard in the Soviet Union recently concerning relations between our countries and also Soviet aid to Afghanistan. To be frank, this cannot fail to cause concern among us because such assessments could be used against the interests both of Afghanistan and of the Soviet Union to the prejudice of the perestroyka processes in your country.

I am certain—and this is demonstrated by 18 months of development in today's Afghanistan—that the future is ours. Over this period the opposition has failed to score any perceptible successes, either in setting up any leadership structures within the country or in providing a political grounding for their activities. At the same time the Afghan leadership, seeking national unity and cohesion, has had perceptible successes thanks to the implementation of a sensible policy of national reconciliation and aid from the Soviet Union.

We are losing neither the military nor the political initiative, and this is particularly important in the present conditions when the major issue is the peaceful political solution of the Afghan problem. We are convinced that there is no force in Afghanistan today other than the present Afghan Government that is capable of playing a positive role in a peaceful political solution of the Afghan problem, the role of a guarantor, and of being a factor of stability in this matter. Naturally, the government sees the ways to peace through implementation of the national reconcilation policy on the basis of cooperation with all political forces in the country.

Unfortuantely, the opposition has still not realized that issues can only be resolved through political means. The opposition's activities are aimed at destruction. It does not take into account the present arrangement of political and military forces in the country. Striving to complicate the situation on both sides of the Soviet-Afghan border and to damage the interests of both of our countries, it has taken to fanaticism, nationalism, and fundamentalism. I am deeply confident that given the appropriate assistance the present Afghan leadership will be capable of playing a crucial role in finding a political solution to the Afghan problem and in implementing the program calling for democratic elections throughout the country.

As for the political solution of the Afghan issue, a mechanism for its implementation has been agreed with the Soviet leadership and discussed with the sides concerned. Our position on this is clear and forward-looking. It is based on realistic assessments. I think the path to an all-embracing political settlement might be found in the near future given good will on the opposite side. We are convinced that cooperation with the Soviet Union will continue to develop, taking on new forms and dimensions. It is now a question of making that cooperation mutually beneficial.

Afghanistan today is in a position to supply the Soviet Union with gas, cotton, barite, fruit, vegetables, dried fruit, industrial items, skins, astrakhan, and textiles; the appropriate conditions exist for expanding cooperation in the private sector and setting up joint ventures. All this creates a good basis for further intensification of relations between our countries.

I can reassert once again that during my meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev we arrived at the conclusion that the friendship between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan has withstood the test of time. It is cemented by the blood of our peoples. We have accumulated a great deal of experience in cooperation. Relations between our countries must continue to develop comprehensively in the interest of the peoples of both countries. Today there should be no question of reducing bilateral cooperation; on the contrary—the question should be of consistently expanding it, with due consideration, naturally, for both countries' capabilities. The confirmation of the friendly and mutually beneficial nature of our relations was the main outcome of my meeting with the USSR president.

I would like to take this opportunity to address Soviet families, all those who lost sons in Afghanistan and who were maimed and wounded on Afghan soil: You are our brothers and sisters and we are eternally grateful to you. I would stress in particular that the Afghan Government is exerting every effort to free the Soviet soldiers still held by the opposition. We are sincerely glad that in the past few months we have managed to secure the release of eight people and to return them home. I assure you that we shall continue to make every effort and use the available opportunities to fulfill this noble mission.

Thank you for your attention.

[Correspondent] Thank you for this detailed outline of your position. I wish you success.

West Europe

Shevardnadze, French Counterpart Dumas Meet

Talks Open in Moscow 26 Aug

LD2608071190 Moscow TASS in English 0658 GMT 26 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his French counterpart Roland Dumas, who arrived in Moscow on a brief working visit on Saturday, have opened their talks here today.

A Soviet Foreign Ministry official told TASS before the talks that the ministers are expected to adopt a joint statement on the Persian Gulf crisis.

View 'Topical' Worldwide Issues

LD2608155890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 26 Aug (TASS)—A working meeting took place in Moscow today between Eduard Shevardnadze and Roland Dumas, French foreign minister. In the atmosphere of openness and broad mutual understanding which characterizes the Soviet-French political dialogue, an intensive and highly detailed exchange of views on the most topical international issues was continued and prospects for further development of bilateral relations were discussed.

The ministers noted with satisfaction the proximity of the two countries' approaches to the situation in the Persian Gulf and adopted a joint statement on this question, which is to be published in the press.

In a discussion of the situation in Europe, the accent was on preparations for the CSCE summit conference in Paris which is being planned. The mutual conviction exists that it offers good prospects to reach major accords which will advance the all-European process on all fronts. A political document of substance, defining the new quality of the unified European space, is to be hammered out in Paris.

In light of the meeting of foreign ministers in the framework of the two-plus-four mechanism, which is scheduled for 12 September in Moscow, a discussion took place of the foreign policy aspects of German unification. The ministers voiced the wish that the Moscow meeting should be the last in the chain of such meetings of the "Six" and that it should end with the adoption of a document of purpose and substance which would give strict juridical form to a definitive settlement of the German problem in terms of international law.

To this end, emphasis was laid on the need to speed up work on agreeing on those provisions in the document which remain open, including its military-political sections.

The ministers analyzed progress in fulfilling Soviet-French agreements signed in July 1989. Special attention was devoted to seeking new forms of cooperation in the economic and financial sphere.

Shevardnadze briefed Dumas on particularities of the present stage of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, which is connected with the transition to the regulated market economy and the elaboration of principles for a new union treaty.

In the context of the visit by the French minister of state, meetings of working groups were held. These examined in detail the positions of the sides on questions concerning the deepening of the disarmament process, the forming of new security and cooperation structures in Europe, the settlement of regional problems, the promotion of higher levels of joint activities between the USSR and French international economic and financial institutions and organizations, and base principles for treaty and juridical relations between the Soviet Union and France.

It was confirmed at all levels of the talks which have been held that in the conditions of tempestuous changes in the world—especially in Europe—the USSR and France, basing themselves on their traditions of friendship and accord and their rich experience of joint action, intend to step up in a consistent way their efforts to bring their bilateral cooperation to a new level of partnership consonant with the interests of developing the all-European process and with the task of forming new international relations stretching beyond the bounds of the 20th century.

The major outcome of the talks and conversations in Moscow was an accord to work out a package of Soviet-French agreements, both of an all-European character and dealing with specific spheres of bilateral cooperation, which would reflect the new quality of the accord and friendship between the USSR and France and be inscribed into the all-European structures which are being created through the joint efforts of the 35 states. Working machinery is being created to prepare texts for such agreements.

In the view of the ministers, the high level of mutual understanding and the weighty accords achieved during Dumas' visit to the Soviet Union provide a good basis for successful preparation of the planned meeting between the presidents of the USSR and France.

Shevardnadze, Dumas Hold News Conference

Shevardnadze on Advisers' Role in Gulf

LD2708081390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] The visit to our country by French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas ended yesterday. A joint news conference on the visit's results was held with his Soviet colleague, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze. The ministers announced that in Moscow much attention was devoted at the talks in particular to the Persian Gulf crisis. Eduard Amvrosiyevich announced that our compatriots had been completely evacuated from Kuwait. He was asked about Soviet specialists in Iraq, and in particular about military specialists. Here is what the Soviet minister said on this score:

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] The resolutions which have been adopted by the Security Council do not prohibit the work and presence of advisers in this country; I have in mind military advisers. There is a moral aspect to this issue, however, a political aspect. We understand this, but what we have on the agenda now is not the issue of advisers but that the first duty in the first instance is to evacuate all the children and women from Iraq. The contracts of many advisers are coming to an end, and they will accordingly be removed from this country. In some media reports have appeared that our Soviet military advisers are taking part in compiling military operations plans and so on. This bears no relation to the truth. Apart from military advisers we have many other specialists there. To give you an idea of what kind of a problem this is for us, there are now up to 8,000 people working in Iraq. [end recording]

Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze stressed at this news conference that the Soviet Union does not plan to use force regarding Iraq. He commented again that the problem should be resolved by political methods and that the Soviet Union is ready to act as a mediator for this purpose if required.

Shevardnadze Sees 'Deepened' Ties

LD2608152190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Remarks by USSR Foreign Minster Eduard Shevardnadze at a news conference at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center on 26 August—recorded]

[Text] A news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists was held today at the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry on the results of the visit to the Soviet Union of the French foreign minister, Roland Dumas. Speaking at the news conference, the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, said in part:

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] Mr. Dumas' visit is an important part of the Soviet-French dialogue, which is of great importance from the point of view of consolidating and developing positive changes in Europe and the world. The conversation between President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the French foreign minister has confirmed that the Soviet Union and France are constructively interacting in solving very large, major problems in European and world politics, so as to promote the emergence of qualitatively new relations between East and West. In the course of the visit by Mr. Dumas, very substantial talks were held. Working groups of our leading specialists and experts met, and this enabled us ministers to use our time productively and to progress in coordinating our positions on a very broad range of current issues. France, as we know, is the host of the general European summit meeting to be held in Paris in November. It is natural that a special place at our talks was occupied by discussion of matters concerning the preparation of that most important forum. Naturally, we assume that the participants of the forum will examine the results of the Vienna talks on reduction of conventional arms in Europe and will also hear information on the results of the functioning of the two-plus-four mechanism.

We, of course, also discussed the situation arising from the crisis in the Persian Gulf. Both we and the French side consider that in parallel with the measures approved by the UN Security Council, it is necessary to activate possibilities of multilateral diplomacy for settling the problems in the Near East. We believe it is possible to work in the long term toward concerning an international convention banning chemical weapons. We exchanged views on many aspects of Soviet-French relations as such. Of fundamental importance, in my view, is our common desire to start work on documents or a series of documents that will enshrine the new qualitative stage in relations between the Soviet Union and France, orientating them toward the future and toward more active and extensive cooperation and interaction. It is intended that these documents, if we succeed in preparing them in the near future, will be signed during our president's visit to Paris. In the new Europe, relations between our two countries must be developed further, deepened and developed. [end recording]

Shevardnadze: 'New Stage' Reached

LD2608122990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1155 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow, 26 August (TASS)—Speaking here at a joint news conference on the results of the visit to Moscow by Roland Dumas, the French foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, the head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, declared that his talks with the French minister had enabled the sides "to make progress in reconciling their positions on a very wide range of topical questions."

He noted the great importance of the Soviet-French dialogue for the consolidation and development of positive changes in Europe and the world. Stressing that the talks were "substantive," Eduard Shevardnadze said he and Roland Dumas had exchanged views on questions connected with the preparation of the all-European summit meeting in Paris and the main elements to be included on the agenda of that meeting. According to the Soviet minister, the topics which were discussed included the development of the all-European process, the establishment of new relations between military-political alliances, disarmament questions on the continent, and the two-plus-four process.

Having noted that great attention was paid to the situation in the Persian Gulf, Eduard Shevardnadze stated that as a result of the talks the text of a Soviet-French declaration in connection with the events in this region has been agreed.

He noted the understanding of the sides regarding the necessity of more rapid possible completion of work on concluding an international convention banning chemical weapons.

Eduard Shevardnadze also said the participants in the talks exchanged opinions on many aspects of Soviet-French relations. He noted the mutual aspiration of the sides to begin work on a document or series of documents "which will record the qualititavely new stage in USSR-French relations," having declared that it is intended to sign such docunments in the course of the USSR president's visit to Paris.

Dumas Comments on Planned Treaty

LD2608134590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1240 GMT 26 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow, 26 August (TASS)—In the opinion of Roland Dumas, French minister of state for foreign affairs, who is on a brief working visit to the Soviet Union, cooperation between the USSR and France has become "an important, if not the most important factor in world equilibrium."

Speaking here today at a joint news conference on the results of the visit, he stated that the meetings which have taken place in Moscow signify "a deepening of relations between the Soviet Union and France," which, in his words, is also attested by the results of the talks. The French minister evaluated his talk with Mikhail Gorbachev, USSR president, as "exceedingly useful" and "fruitful."

Speaking in general terms about his talks in the Soviet capital, Roland Dumas remarked that "it was a question of studying the major problems with which we are confronted." He continued by saying that events in the Persian Gulf were added to the discussion. Moreover, the sides "assigned great importance to the latest Security Council resolution."

In the course of the talks, the French minister stated, the development of the European process, preparation for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe summit, external aspects of the unification of Germany, and the Cambodian problem were also discussed. An analysis of the events led the participants in the talks to the conclusion that the re-opening of the Paris conference is "beginning to come into focus" [nachinaet vyrisovyvatsya], he said.

Disarmament issues, including chemical disarmament, were also the center of the ministers' attention. Roland Dumas noted in this context that both sides expressed regret that the negotiations on a ban on chemical weapons were not making headway.

Speaking about bilateral relations, the minister emphasized that they "are becoming an important element of world relations" and he remarked on the necessity of juridically confirming this. He said that this could take the form of a treaty which would be worked out for signature by the two heads of state in the course of the coming meeting. Roland Dumas said that the meeting "could take place during October in Paris, if Gorbachev's calendar allows."

Soviet-French Statement on Gulf Crisis

LD2608155390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Aug 90

[TASS: "Soviet-French statement"]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Aug (TASS) - We are transmitting the Soviet-French statement in connection with the crisis in the Persian Gulf:

"Profoundly concerned by the crisis caused by the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait—an independent and sovereign state—the Soviet Union and France welcome the adoption by the UN Security Council of Resolution 665, designed to ensure strict implementation of the sanctions adopted against Iraq. This resolution testifies once more to the agreement of the permanent members of the Security Council and the international community regarding the need to put an end as quickly as possible to a situation which is a crude violation of the fundamental principles of inter-state relations, a serious infringement of international peace and security.

"The sides confirm their adherence to the principle of collective actions, which are being undertaken in accordance with the UN Charter for the purpose of achieving a political settlement of the crisis on the basis of the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the restoration of sovereignty of that Arab country.

"Expressing serious concern at the situation regarding the foreign citizens being held in Iraq and Kuwait against those obligations ensuing from the norms of international legality and human rights, the ministers recall the demands made by the Security Council regarding the fact that Iraq should give these citizens the opportunity to go home immediately and without obstruction. They insistently call on Iraq to desist from any actions obstructing the activity of the diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and violating the status and immunity of their personnel.

"The USSR and France urgently appeal to Iraq to display realism and common sense and heed the wish of the international community, expressed in the resolutions of the Security Council in connection with the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

"In the conviction of the sides, the said crisis once more proves the urgent need to step up efforts to reach the earliest possible settlement of other conflict situations in the Middle East, especially the Palestinian problem. They confirm their support for the actions of Arab countries on a settlement of the Lebanese crisis.

The Soviet Union and France will continue close cooperation regarding the events in the Persian gulf."

Dumas Continues Moscow Visit, Sees Gorbachev

'Mutual Trust' Noted

PM2608195590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Meeting Between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Dumas"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev met with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas in the Kremlin on 25 August.

The interlocutors have been well acquainted for a long time. This latest meeting between them demonstrated again the high level of mutual trust and the depth and uniqueness of Soviet-French dialogue.

The conversation reflected the fact that the Soviet and French leaderships are now engaged in in-depth analysis of the processes unfolding in Europe and the world, in defining the new role of their own and other countries in the world's movement toward new frontiers, and in assessing the ability of each of them to adapt to vast and unprecedented changes.

Roland Dumas conveyed to M.S. Gorbachev a message from French President Francois Mitterrand. It confirmed the coincidence of views on Soviet-French collaboration as a very important factor of international scale, which has been convincingly manifested in connection with the crisis in the Persian Gulf region. If our dialogue, M.S. Gorbachev observed, had not achieved the level we now enjoy, it would be far more difficult in such acute situations to respond appropriately and we would not be able to utilize our potential properly. The mutual understanding between the leadership of our two countries from the very start of the Iraqi aggression and the coordination of their approaches within the Security Council and in contacts with other states have played and continue to play an indispensable role.

Similar judgments were voiced regarding the possible development of events and the methods of executing the Security Council resolution. Vigilance, attentiveness, and practical solidarity within the United Nations will make it possible to prevent the conflict spreading and its transformation into an armed clash with unpredictable and very serious consequences.

What has been achieved in recent time by way of improving international relations and drawing closer to a new world order in the history of human civilization is now undergoing a difficult test.

The cohesion and resolve of the states operating under the auspices of the universal organization—the United Nations—against aggression and the violation of international law are therefore of fundamental importance. The crisis which has broken out has placed a special responsibility upon the Arab world. The importance of contacts with all the Arab states was stressed.

It is symbolic, M.S. Gorbachev stressed, that a high-ranking French representative should be in Moscow at such an acute and dangerous time and that there should be the opportunity to consider the situation together and determine joint or parallel steps. The idea was expressed that the events connected with the Iraqi regime's behavior make an international conference on the Near East even more essential.

Great attention was paid to Soviet-French collaboration within the European process. The sides confirmed the urgent need for a Soviet-French summit meeting and the desirability of substantially strengthening the political and legal basis of relations between two such countries both in their own interests and in order to resolve—with the participation of all the Europeans, the United Sates, and Canada—problems of crucial significance for the immediate and long-term future of Europe.

E.A. Shevardnadze, Yu.V. Dubinin, J.-M. Merillon, and E. Danon took part in the meeting.

Discuss 'Two-Plus-Four' Talks

LD2508152390 Moscow TASS in English 1225 GMT 25 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev met French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas here today.

Dumas is visiting the Soviet Union on a two-day working visit to discuss the forthcoming "two-plus-four" ministerial talks in Moscow, preparations for the CSCE conference in Paris and bilateral relations.

The sides are also expected to discuss the latest international developments, including the Gulf crisis.

View Gulf Crisis, Cooperation

LD2508183790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met in the Kremlin today with Roland Dumas. The conversation reflected the fact that the leaderships of the USSR and France are currently engaged in an in-depth analysis of the processes taking place in Europe and the world, in defining new roles for their own and other countries in the world's movement towards new frontiers, and in assessing the ability of each of them to adapt to vast unprecedented changes.

Roland Dumas conveyed to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev a message from French President Francois Mitterrand. This confirmed a coincidence of views regarding action involving both the Soviet Union and France as being a most important factor at the international level, which has also been manifested convincingly in connection with the crisis in the Persian Gulf area.

In the course of the meeting similar opinions were voiced regarding the possible progress of events and methods of implementing the Security Council's resolutions.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed that it is symbolic that a high-ranking representative of France should be in Moscow at such a crucial and dangerous moment, and that there should be the possibility of thinking over the situation together and fixing on joint or parallel steps.

The idea was expressed that the events connected with the behavior of the Iraqi regime make an international conference on the Near East even more essential.

Great attention was devoted to action involving both the USSR and France in the European process. Confirmation was provided of the topicality of a Soviet-French summit and of the desirability of substantialy strengthening the political-juridical basis for relations between two such countries, both as being in their own interests and for the purposes of resolving—with the participation of all the Europeans, together with the United States and Canada—problems which are of watershed importance for the short-term and long-term future of Europe.

Shevardnadze, Dubinin, Merillon, and Danon took part in the meeting. Full details of the meeting will be published in the press. The head of the French diplomatic department will also be having a meeting with Comrade Shevardnadze.

Gorbachev Favors Iraq Embargo

AU2508140590 Paris AFP in English 1335 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Moascow, Aug 25 (AFP)—The Soviet Union will do "everything necessary" to ensure the embargo against Iraq is complied with, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev said here Saturday.

Speaking to journalists at the Kremlin just before a meeting with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, Mr. Gorbachev said his country had adopted "a very clear position" by voting at the United Nations Security Council in favour of a resolution on possible use of force to ensure compliance with the embargo against Iraq for its invasion of Kuwait.

Mr. Dumas arrived in Moscow Saturday afternoon for a day and a half of talks, notably on the Gulf crisis.

Addressing Mr. Gorbachev, the French foreign minister expressed the hope to soon see him in France.

"I hope so, and I believe the time is approaching," said Mr. Gorbachev who was accompanied by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and special adviser Anatoly Chernyayev.

Mr. Dumas carried a message for Mr. Gorbachev from French President Francois Mitterrand, informed sources said. The Soviet president informed his French counterpart on Thursday of Moscow's intention to harden its stand in the Gulf crisis, sources added.

On Friday, Mr. Gorbachev issued a strong warning to Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, calling on him to withdraw his troops from Kuwait and release foreign nationals.

Mr. Dumas, who was due to have formal talks with his Soviet counterpart Sunday morning, was also to discuss disarmament problems and German reunification with Mr. Gorbachev.

The next, and probably final meeting of the "two-plus-four" conference, involving the four World War II allied powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Britain—along with the two Germanies, is to take place in Moscow on September 12.

M. Gorbachev and Dumas were also to discuss the November summit in Paris of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which Mr. Gorbachev may attend.

Visit Ends 26 Aug

LD2608155490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1519 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 26 Aug (TASS)—French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas left the USSR today after a brief working visit. On 25 and 26 August he held talks with his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze to discuss topical international issues, including the situation in the Persian Gulf area. The sides expressed their stand on this problem in a joint statement agreed by the ministers.

On Saturday [25 August], Dumas was received by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. On completing their talks in Moscow, Roland Dumas and Eduard Shevardnadze gave a joint news conference.

Gorbachev To Return Visit

LD2508165890 Paris Domestic Service in French 1500 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev will visit France in November. This was annouced during Roland Dumas' visit to the USSR. The foreign minister is scheduled to meet Soviet leaders to discuss the situation in the Gulf, and the stages of German unification.

Deputy Minister Sitaryan Meets With FRG Ministers

Discuss Troop Deployment Costs

LD2408174390 Hamburg DPA in German 1551 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—In Moscow today, the first talks were held on sharing the costs of basing the Soviet Army in the GDR. Federal Finance Minister Theo Waigel told journalists in Moscow this afternoon that it is not a matter of taking on the cost of deployment, which will continue to be borne by the Soviet Union. Rather, the negotiations are concerned with compensation for the disadvantages that have arisen for the Soviets in the GDR through the conversion to Deutschmarks. "The order of global greatness has not played a role in the talks," Waigel said. He held talks with the Soviet deputy prime minister, Stepan Sitaryan.

Both sides agreed to continue the talks at expert level next week in Moscow. There is to be a further round of talks in Bonn on 3-4 September. Waigel and Sitayan intend to hold another round of talks in Bonn on 5 September.

Economic Treaty Outlined

LD2508144190 Hamburg DPA in German 1236 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—According to Federal Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann (FDP) [Free Democratic Party], the Soviet Union "did not convey any ideas to us about global financial aid" during talks on future economic cooperation with a united Germany. As Haussmann stated today at the end of his talks with Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Stepan Sitaryan in Moscow, "no Soviet requests were made".

The minister pointed out that the "policy of untied credits" would not be continued. Bonn sees its assistance rather in the framework of concrete projects, such as management training and technical assistance, for example. During the talks, which lasted for more than four hours, the main emphasis was on setting out the basic points of a treaty on extensive economic, industrial, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and Germany. [passage omitted]

FRG'S Genscher Notes Changing Relations

LD2508153690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1340 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Studio interview with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher by correspondent Aleksandr Zholkver in Moscow; date not given; from the "International Panorama" program presented by Korzin; Genscher speaking in German with superimposed Russian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Korzin] The FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher recently visited the Soviet Union, and here is a short interview with him: Information at first hand, so to speak.

[Begin recording] [Zholkver] Many of our viewers write that we are losing our old friend and ally in the GDR, and it is not at all clear what our country's future relations with a united Germany will be like. How would you answer that?

[Genscher] I think after all that has happened in relations between our countries, no one should be surprised at differences in the opinions of Soviet people regarding the unification of Germany. But I would like to say to all your viewers that relations between your great country and the future united Germany will be more than just the sum of your former relations with the GDR and FRG. Anyone who sees how events are developing in Europe cannot fail to notice that they are moving from separation to cooperation, from schism to unity. And that is true not only of Europe as a whole, but also of the people that live in the center of Europe—the German people. We are firmly convinced that the unification of Germany will not create any extra problems for Europe, but will, on the contrary, solve the existing ones. I think both our peoples will only gain from German unification. Close relations between Germany and the Soviet Union will guarantee that the Soviet Union will play an important role in the new united Europe.

[Zholkver] You have spoken of a new united Europe. That undoubtedly requires a general European system of security. In particular, you are the orginator of the idea of setting up a center for the prevention of conflict in Europe. What are the chances of putting that idea into practice?

[Genscher] We have got to set up general European bodies. For example, regular meetings of the heads of state and government of the countries of Europe, and also of their foreign ministers; the setting up of a general European Secretariat and of a center to prevent conflicts in Europe and settle them peacefully. I am very glad that together with Mr. Shevardnadze, I have been urging this for a long time now. We have also advocated this in the alliance to which our countries belong; and I am sure that at the general European summit in November, these ideas will become reality.

[Zholkver] And now a question on economic problems. Both the FRG and the GDR have been our biggest trade partners in Europe. How do you see the economic relations of the future united Germany with the Soviet Union?

[Genscher] The possibilities for economic, technological, ecological, and cultural cooperation between our countries are truly inexhaustible. It is a matter of opening wide vistas for them now and giving them concrete content. The ideological borders that have divided Europe for so long have fallen, and they must not be replaced by economic ones. Europe is now divided by various economic systems, and therefore the economic reforms that are now being carried out in your and other countries of East Europe are in the interests of all Europeans, in the interests of the development of the general European process. And we as a people living in the center of Europe have a special interest in this. And so we are especially active in that area.

[Zholkver] Many thanks for that interview. I hope we shall be able to continue it during your next visit to Moscow for the concluding meeting on the two plus four formula, set for 12 September.

[Genscher] I accept that invitation with pleasure and would like once again to greet Soviet viewers most cordially. [end recording]

Swedish Court Brings Charges Against Hijacker

LD2508014790 Moscow TASS in English 2247 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Gorokhov]

[Text] Stockholm August 25 TASS—The trial of Mikhail Mokretsov, who hijacked an Aeroflot plane and is brought to court for this crime in Sweden, will take place on August 30.

The charge of the hijack under aggravating circumstances was officially brought against him in Stockholm's suburban court on Friday.

Senior prosecutor Birgit Tunved thinks that by commandeering the plane, which flies on domestic routes, to Sweden, Mokretsov endangered the lives of many people. She intends to demand that the offender be sentenced to a long prison term.

In Tunved's opinion, as soon as the hijacker serves his sentence, he should be deported from Sweden without the right to enter the country during ten years.

Space Project With United Kingdom 'Dead'

LD2608205390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1403 GMT 26 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Boskoboynikov]

[Excerpt] London, 26 Aug (TASS)—"Astronaut wanted. No experience necessary"—this rather unusual advertisement marked the start of the Soviet-British space program "Juno" which envisaged UK national being sent into space as part of a joint crew. There was much talk of the importance of bilateral cooperation and about the benefits from the experiments to be conducted aboard the Soviet "Mir" orbiting station. But it now emerges that the project is "dead", even after two potential astronauts were selected from the hundreds of Britons who wanted to go into space. The Moscow Narodny Bank based in London reported that the program would not occur, because no sponsors for it have been found. [passage omitted]

Lithuania's Landsbergis Visits Danish Minister

International Conference Planned

LD2508181690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 25 Aug 90

[By correspondent Jurate Valanciute]

[Text] You already know that Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis is visiting Denmark at the invitation of the Danish Prime Minister Schlueter. Yesterday's brief report about his arrival in

Copenhagen and a news conference can be supplemented today by a new report:

Vytautas Landsbergis was met at the airport by Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen. The prime minister's and foreign minister's reception was held at noon. Various possibilities of cooperation in industry, trade, and especially in agriculture were discussed. Mutual missions were envisaged during the conversation. According to Foreign Minister Ulleman-Jensen, this would be a means of restoring our relations interrupted in 1940.

Journalists of the world press agencies, television companies, and radio stations showed interest at a news conference in the views of Vytautas Landsbergis toward North European countries and relations with the Soviet Union.

Vytautas Landsbergis met yesterday the Speaker of the Danish Parliament Clausen and representatives of parliamentary parties. It is the general opinion of the Danish Parliament that it should help the democratically elected Lithuanian parliament.

A ceremonial dinner was given in the evening by the Danish premier in honor of Vytautas Landsbergis. A wish was expressed during the dinner that Danish parliamentarians would be invited to visit Lithuania.

Vytautas Landsbergis will fly to Oslo this evening, where he will take part in an international conference "Anatomy of Hatred." The Oslo international conference, according to the slogan chosen by its organizers, will discuss problems created in the world by hatred. The conference, which opens tomorrow, will last four days. One afteroon will be devoted to the situation in East Europe.

The international conference will be attended by the world leaders, scientists, activists of human rights and representatives of culture. The Main speeches will be made by French President Francois Mitterrand, Czechoslovak-Slovak Federation President Vaclav Havel, ANC Leader Nelson Mandela. Among other participants, the correspondents mention first of all Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis. The conference opens tomorrow.

Discuss Future Cooperation

LD2608014190 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Report by Rima Jakutyte]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] During [Vytautas Landsbergis'] meetings with Danish Government officials, much was said concerning establishing information bureaus, developing trade relations, economic cooperation, Lithuanian training in Denmark, and the possible assistance to Lithuanian farmers. [passage indistinct] Vytautas Landsbergis voiced the hope that Lithuania will be accorded more political, diplomatic, and economic support. [passage omitted]

Discussions included the course of negotiations with the Soviet Union, establishment of a Baltic states' common market, the Lithuanian stance toward a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe, Lithuanian ethnic minority affairs, possible guarantees to the Soviet Union concerning ties with the Kaliningrad Region, and other questions. Danish parliamentarians affirmed their support of Lithuanian independence and noted the formation of a special economic assistance fund, which will furnish assistance to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the Baltic states. Further discussion revolved around the possibility of Lithuania's inclusion in the Helsinki process.

Vytautas Landsbergis expressed the hope that small European states will suport Lithuania's independence goal, in a more principled fashion than the larger states. [passage omitted]

The Danish leader Clausen noted that he will most probably lead a Danish parliamentary delegation to Lithuania in October.

Vytautas Landsbergis remarked that Denmark's disposition with regard to Lithuania, presents a great hope, that the wall which collapsed in Berlin, will not be built around Lithuania.

Today's program of Vytautas Landsbergis' visit to Denmark, was less intensive. The Danish education and science minister escorted the Lithuanian leader. [passage omitted]

Hold News Conference

LD2408232190 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Vytautas Landsbergis will soon depart Copenhagen for Oslo, Norway. He has been invited to participate in an international conference "Anatomy of Hatred," scheduled to take place there 26-29 August. [passage omitted] One conference day will be devoted to East European problems. Vytautas Landsbergis will also deliver a report, along with world famous political, public, and cultural activists, and scientists.

The Lithuanian Supreme Council chairman will then depart Oslo for Leningrad, where on 1 September he will announce the opening of the human rights conference "Vilnius 90."

Vytautas Landsbergis and his wife stopped over in the Latvian capital, Riga, en route to Copenhagen. Latvian Supreme Council Chairman Anatolius Gorbunovs met them at the airport. Both state leaders held talks for a half hour. Opinions concerning Lithuania's and Latvia's cooperation with the Russian Federation, and also the development of political and economic cooperation between the two Baltic states, were exchanged. Vytautas

Landsbergis invited Anatolius Gorbunovs to visit Leningrad, where on 1 September [word indistinct] the conference "Vilnius 90" will commence.

As told to Lithuanian television by Vytautas Landsbergis, the conference will take place in Leningrad because the Soviet Union [words indistinct] to foreigners, visas to visit Vilnius. [passage omitted]

A news conference was held at the Danish parliament building, today. Vytautas Landsbergis talked on questions of economic and trade cooperation between the two states, opportunities for Lithuanian specialists to study in Denmark, and actual projects for these will be deliberated during the negotiations. He expressed the hope that Denmark will assist Lithuania in implementing economic reform.

Baltic Groups Receive Danish Peace Prize

LD2608012590 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] The Danish Paul Laurisen Fund Peace Prize has been awarded to Lithuanian Sajudis and the Latvian and Estonian Popular Fronts.

The Baltic Popular Fronts have been awarded this [word indistinct] prize, as a result of their significant contribution to the struggle for the Baltic republics' freedom and independence.

The awards [word indistinct] will be presented to the Popular Fronts and Sajudis, in December of this year at the University of Copenhagen.

The founder of the peace fund, Paul Laurisen, was a member of the Danish resistance during World War II. His fund's award was presented, last year, to the Czechoslovak organization Charter 77.

Ukrainian Premier Visits Upper Austria

AU2608185690 Vienna AZ in German 25 Aug 90 p 10

[Report by Robert Misik: "No Independent State"]

[Text] "Europe of regions" is a modern catchword. It is to be implemented through a "partnership" beween Upper Austria and the Ukraine.

"These are just rumors," the premier of the Soviet republic Ukraine, Massol, says soothingly. The Soviet politician, who is paying a 14-day "state visit" to Austria, categorically rejects reports that the concrete sarcophagus surrounding the reactor of Chernobyl, which emits radioactivity, is crumbling.

He was invited to Austria by Upper Austrian Governor Josef Ratzenboeck, who agreed on a "partnership cooperation" beween his province and the Soviet republic in April.

Massol sees "the independent foreign policy," which his repubic recently announced in its declaration of sovereignty, implemented in such direct contacts with regions of other countries. Because "it is not realistic to demand state independence," he points out—a demand, which, however, is made with increasing vehemence by the Ukrainian nationalist movement "Rukh."

Asked by AZ whether he, who is struggling with great problems concerning the nationalized coal industry—the Donbass mining region is in the Ukraine—came to Upper Austria to see how a nationalized industry that is shaken by crises can be improved, he evades a clear answer. "As early as July we passed a program which envisages the further development of coal mining and thus of the Donbass region."

Political & Social

RSFSR Declares Gorbachev Decree Invalid

LD2508160390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1355 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 25 Aug (TASS)—A Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium statement was distributed here today. It says:

In view of the USSR president's 23 August 1990 decree, which aims to overrule the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 9 August 1990 decision on "the RSFSR's sovereignty over the protection of its economic foundations," we wish to make the following clarification:

An analysis of legal documents gives grounds for concluding that until a Union treaty on economic relations between the republic and the USSR is concluded, the laws of the RSFSR take priority.

This is borne out by the following:

The RSFSR law on property within RSFSR territory stipulates that the right to ownership of land, its minerals, natural resources, and other assets is regulated by RSFSR laws and those of its autonomous republics. The above-mentioned assets may be made available to the USSR for all-Union purposes in accordance with conditions and procedures laid down by RSFSR laws (and by a future Union treaty). The same law stresses that all actions that contradict the RSFSR's economic interests are deemed to be null and void.

In accordance with Article 5 of the RSFSR Declaration on State Sovereignty, the validity of USSR laws that infringe on RSFSR sovereign rights is suspended on republic territory.

These fundamental normative acts of the RSFSR are now legally binding. For this reason there is no legal justification for declaring invalid RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 9 August 1990 decision on the protection of RSFSR economic sovereignty. It derives its substance and stems logically from the above-mentioned legislative acts of the RSFSR.

The arguments cited above which are based on acts of law show that RSFSR laws must apply in these matters until a Union treaty is concluded. Other organs of power have no right to amend property relations on RSFSR territory unless they take into account RSFSR laws and other normative acts and the agreement of the RSFSR authorities has been secured.

Consequently, the USSR president's decree does not have the force of law.

Khasbulatov Calls Decree Illegal

LD2408152890 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—Russian Vice-President Russian Khasbulatov today described as "illegal and contradicting the Russian Constitution" Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's decree that nullified the presidium of the Russian parliament's resolution on foreign economic contracts.

The August 9 resolution gave control over gold and other strategic reserves mined and produced in Russia to its own cabinet rather than to the federal government.

Speaking in a telephone interview to TASS, Khasbulatov, one of the closest allies of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, said that the Gorbachev decree "can prompt a constitutional crisis in the country" if the Russian parliament backs its presidium, while the federal parliament supports the Soviet president.

"The Soviet president's decree can impel many Russian members of parliament to toughen their stands," Khasbulatov said. He explained that Russian parliamentary leaders "often have to restrain deputies, but now this will be more difficult".

Yet he "expressed hope that Gorbachev and Yeltsin will be able to reach agreement after the latter returns from a tour of the Russian Republic. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Yeltsin Claims 'Reconciliation' With Gorbachev

OW2608144490 Tokyo KYODO in English 1430 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, Aug. 26 KYODO—Russian Republic leader Boris Yeltsin has had a personal reconcilation with rival Soviet Union President Mikhail Gorbachev but the two are still split over the future structure of their nation, a personal letter from Yeltsin to KYODO NEWS SERVICE says.

The letter, recently delivered in reply to questions put by KYODO, said Yeltsin had made the original approach to Gorbachev.

During the exchanges, which took place at a Presidential Council conference Yeltsin attended for the first time, Yeltsin told Gorbachev he wanted to cooperate, "for the sovereignty and national system of Russia, based on dialogue and negotiation."

"Let's forget all the private things and everything you have done to me," Yeltsin said. "And we shook hands."

But the letter said Yeltsin would not support Gorbachev in everything.

Asked if he can agree with Gorbachev on maintaining the Federation of Union Republics which comprise the Soviet Union Yeltsin said in the letter he does not think the Soviet Union need continue to exist as it is now.

"Some of the union republics hope to withdraw from the union," he said, adding that 13 draft proposals for a new union have been presented by 12 republics and the central government and they are all different and make it hard to reach agreement.

Yeltsin, who is currently on a domestic tour of the Soviet Far East, said it was he who took the initiative in forging an agreement with Gorbachev over launching a joint approach to new economic policies between the Kremlin and the Russian Republic.

Yeltsin said he suggested to Gorbachev that new economic plans for a new federal system be based on his republic's plans called "500 Days Plan."

The letter said Gorbachev and Yeltsin agreed to jointly supervise efforts to map out new policies by September 1.

On economic relations between the republic, the largest in the Soviet Union, and Japan, the letter said there is a big possibility for trade and economic development between Japan and the Soviet Far East region.

Expressing interest in a possible Russia-Japan economic agreement independent of Moscow, Yeltsin said such cooperation would be promoted with his republic extending a version of most-favored-nation status to Japanese firms.

But he said Japan's claims to a return of a group of Soviet-held islands off Hokkaido should not be the condition for such cooperation. He reiterated the previously announced idea that the dispute over the islands should be solved in five phases over some 20 years.

Ryzhkov Interviewed on Domestic, Foreign Affairs

LD2408230990 Moscow Television in Russian
1746 GMT 24 Aug 90

["In The USSR Government" program; studio interview with USSR Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov by commentator Vadim Lobachenko on 24 August—live or recorded]

[Text] [Lobachenko] Nikolay Ivanovich, in the "Vremya" program yesterday, USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev described his meeting with members of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers. What is your view of the meeting?

[Ryzhkov] Yes indeed, at my request, Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the country's president, yesterday met members of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers. It was a lengthy meeting: It lasted six hours. We believe we attained a certain goal in our conversation with Mikhail Sergeyevich, which was to express our views on the development of the national economy this year and on how we evaluate the sociopolitical situation in the country, and, most importantly, to define our position on what measures need to be adopted in order to improve the situation in our state. We are very worried by the situation that has evolved in 1990, by the fact that the economy is developing with a great deal of strain, that there are very many shortcomings. And we feel this in our everyday lives. And of course it is imperative to adopt urgent measures to rectify the situation. We are no less worried by the prospects for 1991. I mention this every Friday. In effect, the fact is that four months remain to the New Year, but the preparation of the whole of the national economy for work next year is being pursued in a very weak fashion. There are very many reasons here. This is a major separate topic. There are also objective reasons here. There are many subjective factors, whereby circumstances are created in the country which hamper normal relations today. In the final analysis, all this has an influence; it affects the functioning of the national economy. This was the first issue, and we asked the president to ensure that, in all our further actions, alongside the need to tackle major political problems, long-term problems, we should under no circumstances lose sight of what needs to be done today.

In the second part, the question of the Union treaty was discussed. The government considers that the process of concluding a Union treaty needs to be accelerated appropriately; that is, first the elaboration and then the conclusion of the Union treaty. The fate of our country in many ways depends on this, and accordingly the life of our people, for we consider that all efforts need to be concentrated now for such an elaboration to be carried out, for all those tendencies, opinions which are being expressed by the Union republics and those proposals which are being elaborated by various programs at the present time to be taken into account in the Union treaty. These need to be considered very thoroughly during the elaboration of the Union treaty. And for this reason our opinion was such that efforts need to be concentrated there, on this issue, and the main thing is to consider all the proposals, of which there are very many today.

These roughly were the problems or the main topics of our meeting yesterday with our country's president. As a result of this meeting we satisfied ourselves once again that we have every opportunity to correct the situation if decisions are made appropriately, if there is a consolidation in society, and if this is all directed in order that society be united today for the resolution of all the problems which arise before us.

The main thing today, in my view, is understanding—the understanding that we need to unite to resolve both today's issues and possible future ones. Only if this is the case can we resolve them. If the destructive tendencies do not cease, then of course something very awkward will await us. But yesterday's conversation, as it were—an open exchange of opinions, the exchange was very open—showed once again that there are such possibilities. Yesterday a thought, such a thought, was expressed—and we support this—that at the end of the month—to be more exact, I think, on the 31st—a sitting of the Council of the Federation and the Presidential

Council will take place, which should consider all issues: the development of our country, issues relating to the Union treaty; that is, everything that disturbs our society today, all the more so as we are on the threshold of a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Lobachenko] Nikolay Ivanovich, in your weekly appearances on Central Television you have, in recent times, been placing particular emphasis on the problem of the harvest. Judging by everything, the government's prompt decisions are having a positive effect on this process. What has changed in this regard of late?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, these past weeks I have begun my meetings with television viewers by reviewing the process of bringing in the harvest. This is only to be expected, because—and I want to reiterate this—there is no more serious, burning, or topical issue facing the country today. By 20 August cereals had been harvested on almost half the fields of our country. Some 28.9, almost 29, quintals of grain crops are being obtained from every hectare. If we compare this with last year, it is 6.8 quintals more than last year's harvest on every hectare.

[Lobachenko] On average.

[Ryzhkov] Yes, if we take 1978, which is reckoned to have had the most bountiful harvest, then we are getting five quintals more [per hectare] than in 1978. In all, since the start of the harvesting, a total of 133 million tonnes of grain crops have been threshed. That is the gross harvest. The state's granaries have been filled with 40 million tonnes. I have already explained to television viewers that we, the state, are only buying a certain proportion of the grain crops. The rest remains with the leadership of the collective and state farms, and with the farmers to feed their cattle and for their own needs.

So what are the problems that concern us and worry us today? Today the situation is such that a lot of grain crops are mounting up on the threshing floors of collective and state farms. Given the bad weather at the moment, this is of concern to everyone. It is our job to make sure that this grain is brought inside more quickly. Of course, some of the grain crops remain with the collective and state farms, but some is taken to acceptance points. The statistics are that each day some three million tonnes of grain are scattered on the threshing floors of the collective and state farms. Every day. At present one third is transported by rail and road to the granaries—one million tonnes. So, the main task at the present time is to make sure that the grain is transported without snags, so that it can dry out and be brought up to standard the way it should be, and then be reliably stored. There is a lot of talk at the moment to the effect that there is a shortage of granaries, and that the country was unprepared for such a harvest. I can tell you that we have enough granaries to cope with a harvest of up to 300 million tonnes. That is the volume of our granaries. Thus we can store all the grain crops.

All we need do now is take some very serious steps to ensure that the grain is transported. Not everything is quite right on this score. In the first place, there is a shortage of freight cars. We have now issued instructions for some more to be specially prepared for grain crops transportation. But the freight cars are standing idle for very long periods in the Union republics and at the grain crops acceptance points. In each case several thousand freight cars are not being unloaded in time, and of course urgent steps will have to be taken now to ensure that this conveyor line operates without interruption, particularly since just yesterday, or today, Kazakhstan is embarking on its large-scale harvesting. That's an awful lot of grain, and it takes a lot of shifting. As you know, we are now dispatching a lot of motor vehicles, particularly to Kazakhstan, so that these issues might be resolved rapidly.

As regards the material supply question—something that is always under scrutiny—we are trying to resolve urgently any questions that arise during the harvest. So, the situation is complicated, and we are being hindered terribly by the weather, but I believe the feeling is that the harvest must be brought in. I saw this for myself when last Saturday I visited Ryazan and Tula Oblasts. I devoted Saturday to visiting two or three farming enterprises and to viewing at first hand the way in which all the work is organized. And, of course, to examining the prospects—how we should proceed with agriculture, what issues are surfacing. The trip was very successful and very interesting, because not only did we see the way in which the people are working today in difficult circumstances [pauses]...in difficult circumstances, but we also saw something of the prospects. People are wondering how to raise the yields even further. So, we are following these issues at first hand, so to speak.

[Lobachenko] Another thorny issue, Nikolay Ivanovich, is the problem of tobacco and the problem of supplying our people with smokers' goods. Personally I do not smoke, but I know just how worked up my colleagues who do smoke get over this problem. What are the reasons behind this situation, and what is the government doing to rectify it?

[Ryzhkov] It is true that this problem has grown very much more acute in recent times. I might even say that it has snowballed, and with every day that passes the situation is deteriorating further and further.

But to be candid, strictly speaking this issue needs to be put to the representatives of the governments of the Union republics. That's what needs to be done if you look into it. The reason is that, as one knows, around two years ago the whole of the agro-industrial complex, the enterprises of the agro-industrial complex, the whole of the agro-industrial complex network, was transferred to the Union republics, and they are dealing with these issues directly, and that includes these matters to do with tobacco. Regrettably, however, all the complaints from smokers, the whole cutting edge of criticism and indignation from smokers, has been brought to bear on the central government. People write letters to me asking what I am doing and why I am not adopting measures. When we saw that a very difficult situation was emerging we were forced to get involved in this problem. I gave instructions to my deputies that, irrespective of whether this lies in the domain of the republics, so to speak, they should immediately get involved in this problem and deal with it straight away, because we realize how thorny this is and what an acute issue is involved. What has happened? Let's deal with the causes first of all. In June and July, of the 50 existing factories in the Soviet Union, in all the republics, 24 factories halted production for overhaul.

[Lobachenko] Half of them, in other words.

[Ryzhkov] That means half the factories were halted. Let me check the details—yes, 24 factories were halted for overhaul, and, correspondingly, a sharp drop in the production of tobacco goods, cigarettes and papirosy [Russian-style cigarettes with cardboard mouthpieces] was immediately felt. Take the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic for instance. Of the 24 factories, 18 ended up being overhauled. Eighteen. Every day—we have now studied all the statistics—every day our people smoke, consume 1.2 million cigarettes. That is the quantity our factories used to produce. Everything was fine. We produced as much as people smoked. As the saying goes, there was an equilibrium, there was a balance. As soon as half the factories were halted, production was immediately halved, and the daily production rate became 500 million. Given that production had fallen, the stocks in the trade network went down steeply. Previously we kept up a two-and-a-half month supply of cigarettes in the trade network, so any fluctuations that occurred—and that is only natural in the retail network—were always absorbed by those stocks. You will recall there was panic-buying of salt and matches, but it went no further because there were large stocks. Everything was wheeled in, and the whole thing was absorbed.

In this case the stocks have been used up, and caused what I would call this wave of panic buying, a wave of panic buying. We have a very great deal of experience of his panic buying. You remember how we battled with the soap problem, soap powder—we spent an entire year, an entire year, stamping out the problem. True, now there is soap powder lying about everywhere, as they say, but we were forced to buy up all the powders abroad and sharply increase domestic production. The same sort of thing has now happened with tobacco items. So this wave is under way, and it's a very intense one. The second reason is that, apart from the fact that factories are under repair and there is a shortage of spare parts—though I think other factories, including military factories could have been brought in to help, or course—the second reason is that there was a shortage of the appropriate materials for making cigarettes. Apart from tobacco they contain numerous different materials....

[Lobachenko] Paper, yes?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, paper; filters, and so on. So here we have a situation in which the factories that were supposed to supply the tobacco factories with these semifinished goods and materials have stopped supplying them. Every time I speak on a Friday I say: Comrades, we are a single national economic complex, we cannot divide this complex into parts. As soon as we start tearing it to pieces somewhere it will inevitably cause pain, pain that in the end takes its toll on the people.

This is vividly exemplified in the case of tobacco items. In Yerevan there is a well-known factory called Nairit; it is a very big and important factory which supplies a very large number of chemical products, including some connected with cigarettes. In December that factory came to a standstill. For eight months we have been asking the Armenian leadership to please get the factory working, we are on the verge of stopping. We said that cigarette production may be halted. Furthermore, the situation there now is such that they produce chemical components used for car windshields and we have only enough stocks of that component to last us until 10 September. Unless we now resolve these issues, car production will be brought to a standstill tomorrow. If the conveyer belts stop, people will not receive the vehicles they are waiting for. So this is what has happened with this cigarette business, as it were.

All our appeals to the Armenian leadership have so far failed to produce results. The factory has been idle for eight months. Or, take the Vladimir chemical plant. It also manufactures a certain component which eventually ends up in cigarettes. A couple of days ago, or even yesterday, I had a telegram from Vladimir saying that there was great indignation over the shortage there of tobacco goods, although it is true that there is not enough sugar there either! Fine, but when the chemical plant was shut down, did nobody realize that sooner or later this would have an effect? So, hasty decisions should not be made. All these ill-conceived closures... [pauses] not infrequently they pursue their own narrow, purely, well, perhaps not just departmental, but maybe narrow territorial objectives. And in the long run the outcome is the situation that has evolved now with tobacco goods. The same thing could occur with our other products, with other articles of produce.

[Lobachenko] So the disruption affects the whole of the machinery of the economy.

[Ryzhkov] Of course! We are interlinked. Do you understand? Every plant has its partner. Not just in its town, but across the country. And if a single technological link in the chain starts to break down, then the effect will undoubtedly be felt somewhere. So what is to be done? Well, those were the reasons. We are now involved in this. Of the 50 tobacco factories, 38 are now operating. In the next few days we will start up all the other factories. As of yesterday—at the moment I get daily reports on what is going on—the output of cigarettes has topped the 1 billion mark to stand at something like 1.05 billion. That is, in a few days we will reach our former output. But that will not be enough. Now that there has been all this uproar it must be quelled. And it is hard to quell.

We have issued instructions that not only should output be stepped up at our factories, but that there should be an attempt to buy cigarettes abroad. So that you might have some idea of what this means, I have already said that every day the country goes through 1.2 million cigarettes. In order to bring in 1.2 million cigarettes we would have to spend 10 million gold rubles! Ten million! In other words, 10 million a day would go up in smoke!

Nevertheless, we are now engaged in negotiations with Bulgaria to ensure that at the very least they give us what is stipulated under our agreements. They are lagging behind, you see. We are holding talks and have already reached agreement with Turkey. In September they will supply us with 1 billion cigarettes a month. In other words, that totals 3 billion. Turkey is to supply us for one day of the month! We are also expecting to get 3 billion from Poland over three months. Talks are ending with Yugoslavia—people were sent—6 billion, that is two days a month we will have Yugoslav cigarettes. And we are holding talks with India. So we have now brought in other countries, no matter how difficult it is with hard currency, no matter how difficult it is with all things, because there is not enough children's food; we do not have enough butter in certain areas. But we understand these questions must be resolved. And now, as they say, internally we are doing everything to increase production, while at the same time we have to undertake this, I would say frankly, not very popular measure—buying abroad. But I do not see any other way out. So the task now, both in the center and locally, is to pay particular attention to gradually extinguishing this flare-up which has occured.

[Lobachenko] So smokers have some hope, right?

[Ryzhkov] I think that they undoubtedly have.

[Lobachenko] We see that there are acute problems here, Nikolay Ivanovich, and there are other acute domestic problems, and they explain why you in your speeches rarely touch on the area of the government's international activities. But nevertheless, to what have you paid particular attention in recent weeks in your work?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, Vadim Ivanovich, you are right to note that in my weekly talks I, on the whole, dwell on domestic problems, because they are the most important ones today, although as a government we are obliged to work continuously on external political questions. Of all the international questions we have discussed during this week—and we worked on these questions—I would probably single out two.

The first—this was today, literally about 30 minutes ago—my meeting with Comrade Najibullah, the president of Afghanistan, finished. I had a thorough conversation with him during which we considered issues of bilateral relations. We considered political issues as well, in connection with the settlement of the whole Afghan problem. Of course, we all come out in favor of this and are doing all of this in our practical steps in order that the bloodshed in Afghanistan should end. Very much has been done there during recent times, and the government, the leadership, headed by President Najibullah, are doing a great deal for national reconciliation. He spoke today about what they have done in connection with changing the constitition, in connection with reforming the party, in connection with the democratic changes of all kinds which are taking place in Afghanistan. All of these are, of course, directed toward a peaceful settlement, toward political stability, and toward a political resolution of these issues, and we welcome these steps, although the situation, as you know, is very complex there. War is underway, as they say, and Kabul is under fire. But at least a positive process is taking place.

Of course, the greater part of my conversation with him today was devoted to our bilateral relations. Historically, relations which were never bad have taken shape between us and Afghanistan. I am not speaking about that period when, as they say, our troops were present there. We now need to work out such economic relations that would be mutually advantageous. We agreed today on how we are to act further. We must develop trade between ourselves to a maximum extent, and the opportunity for trade is already appearing. We have planned such steps. We consider that our Union republics will be able to do very much in this matter.

Now, as you know, we are to a maximum degree giving Union republics the opportunity to resolve their own foreign economic links. For this reason our Central Asian republics should, of course, concern themselves more, and have economic relations with Afghanistan. So I, as they say, am hot on the trail of my meeting with Najibullah. There is another problem that I would dwell on, and that is the problem of Kuwait—and indeed of the situation that has evolved in the Persian Gulf area. I doubt if there is any need for me to analyze in detail what is going on there, because the mass media have been covering this issue in sufficient detail. Not least television has been devoting particular attention to it.

As soon as things started happening there—the day after—the government set up a special working group, headed by Comrade Igor Sergeyevich Belousov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, which incorporates representatives from the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of Defense, and other organizations which maintain a certain interest. Every day this group is engaged on these matters; every day it monitors what is going on there. In so far as its brief will allow it, it makes decisions by itself. Wherever the president or the government has to make political decisions, it puts forward appropriate suggestions.

This past week, Hammadi, the deputy prime minister [of Iraq], visited us. We discussed these issues with him. He put forward the position of the Iraqi leadership. We made matters clear to him, and we are pursuing the line that the Soviet Union is adhering strictly to the resolutions passed by the Security Council. We are not backing down in the least on this, but instead support them clearly.

Aside from the foreign policy aspect, it has been our task to tackle the purely human issues. When this crisis arose, there were, if I am not mistaken, 880 Soviet citizens in Kuwait working in the embassy, in the trade missions, or at facilities on which we held agreements [pauses] ...yes, 882 [figure as heard] people.

We did everything we could to evacuate these people and bring them out. We got two groups of people out through Iraq and Baghdad to Jordan. From Jordan we airlifted them to the Soviet Union. Today, at 0500, the last 180 people arrived.

[Lobachenko] So the evacuation is complete?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, it is complete. But they were evacuated directly from Baghdad, directly from Baghdad. It is a result of the understanding, of the talks we had here with Hammadi. The task now is to bring women and children out of Iraq itself. We evacuated 882 people from Kuwait, but in Iraq our colony of specialists, our people, stands at around 8,000. They work at various enterprises and construction sites there, they are involved in geological prospecting work. All the sorts of things you get under normal relations. It is a colony of around 8,000. It has now been decided to bring out the women and children, the women and children—there are around 900 of them.

A timetable has been set. We discussed this matter with the Iraqi leadership, in the person of Deputy Premier Hammadi, and agreed that we would take our citizens directly from Baghdad. A timetable from the working commission was outlined and confirmed today, and the first batch, the first group of people, our women and children, will fly out under this timetable on Sunday, 26th. Then the next group will leave on the 28th, and then on the 30th and 31st. We hope that by 1 September we will have evacuated these 300 women and children from there in order not to take any risks, not to take any risks. The specialists will remain, but we will be carrying out this sort of evacuation.

[Lobachenko] The situation there is deteriorating more and more, isn't it?

[Ryzhkov] The situation is deteriorating, and so we are obliged first and foremost to look after the women and children. Well, you know that our citizens are not considered hostages there, as it were, or a ban on exit—there is no such thing for the Soviet Union, this does not apply. But nonetheless, we cannot take risks with children and women. for this reason such a decision has been made by the government, and I hope that we will do all of this within these time limits, which were announced to me today by the working group. This is perhaps one of the most acute, burning, international issues with which the government was concerned during this week. And so we are of course, as they say, all the time keeping our finger on the pulse, keeping up both with the international situation which is taking shape, while of course the government has, especially during recent times, had to concern itself more and more with our domestic affairs.

[Lobachenko] Thank you very much. Thank you.

[Ryzhkov] Goodbye.

Ryzhkov, Aides To 'Fight' for Reform Program

PM2608140390 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 16 Aug 90 p 1

[Report by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA special correspondent O. Berezhnaya: "The Icy Waters of a Market Economy; Notes on People and Figures in the Approach to a New Economy"]

[Text] "I felt I was climbing a scaffold when I ascended that rostrum," N. Ryzhkov said at a press conference, recalling that third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet at which he delivered a report on his concept for transferring to a regulated market economy.

Yes, he was perfectly well aware what would happen after his speech. But there was no going back:

"Other members of the government believed as I did that the truth must be told," Nikolay Ivanovich continued. "We have been going round in circles for long enough. Either we tell the truth and find the right solution or we sit on the fence again and ultimately bring our economy to complete collapse."

Someone on the prime minister's team will sigh:

"Fear is a bad adviser."

It will be a sigh of long suffering. Because fear too has brought us now to the brink of the abyss. Our problems have been mounting up for years—but no one has tried to solve them. Through fear. Government members recall with pain that the problem of changing the price formation system came to a head three years ago—before the idea of transferring to a market economy ever arose—and new prices were drawn up at the time. But no decision was made to adopt those new prices—they were too afraid to take this step. They lived in the faint-hearted hope that they would be able to get by somehow. But get by they could not. So now they have had to blow the dust off the old portfolios, slightly amend the text, and let the people pass judgment. But they are having to pay the penalty for this procrastination. So many positions have been lost during these years; and now has proved to be a very inappropriate time for this judgment to be passed: empty stores, galloping inflation, strikes, and republics trying to leap out of the moving economic express train that is veering off the rails and almost out of control. To leap out one by one. All these very acute problems have to be resolved urgently, at the same time as working out the mechanism for transferring to a market economy and drafting decrees, laws, and resolutions. The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium sits in session virtually every day and, two or three times a week, they come here, to the USSR Council of Ministers retreat outside Moscow, "Sosny," where government members, economic specialists, and scientists are working on the program for transferring to a market economy.

They work from dawn till dusk. They have to draft some twenty legislative acts on questions concerning the population's social protection alone, and, even by the most modest estimates, a total of almost one hundred decisions are going to have to be adopted at government, presidential, and USSR Supreme Soviet level. The schedule is extremely tight. The program must be submitted by the beginning of September to the fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet for it to pass a verdict. But it is not just a question of the supreme authorities' demands. In just over four months time we will be starting the new year, and labor collectives do not know what lies ahead of them.

Yes, some documents have already been adopted: on the taxation of enterprises and the population, on the development of small-scale enterprises, and on the introduction of new purchase prices. But there are far more questions still waiting to be resolved. Is there going to be a state order system and, if so, on what scale? Are we going to be provided with everything we need from above or are we going to have to arrange horizontal ties? What is the currency situation? The uncertainty in this respect is not just giving directors a headache. A total of 40 percent of all contracts had been signed by this time last year, but this year only 11 percent have been signed so far. Everyone is waiting to be told what to do next. They are waiting for answers to questions without which they cannot plan the future. But finding these answers is oh so difficult. People are constantly arguing in the vestibules, dining hall, auditoriums, and residential quarters of the "Sosny" retreat. But the specialists and scientists still do not have unequivocal answers to all the "how's" and "why's." The prime minister does not have these answers either.

"One of the most complicated problems is that of currency relations," N. Ryzhkov shared his thoughts. "We spent three hours in the Council of Ministers yesterday debating this problem. We came away completely exhausted, without finding an answer. It is the easiest thing in the world to divide currency into three portions: for enterprises, the republics, and the USSR. It is far more difficult to apportion responsibility and say who is answerable for what. I am not against giving everything to the republics after the debts have been paid. But then we would have to say: 'The Soviet Union is not buying any more grain.' Last year we bought 44 million tonnes of grain and 1 million tonnes of vegetable oil. One in three kilograms of sugar is bought abroad and one in every four or five kilograms of butter is not our own produce. What are we supposed to do? Farm out everything to the republics? But some of them do not even have enough currency for a bottle of sunflower oil. We have decided to invite the chairmen of the Union republic Councils of Ministers here on Monday and present them with all our calculations so that we can try to resolve the problem together."

Resolving problems together is another new feature that has appeared in the government's work. The heads of government of all the Union republics have been made part of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium, while social organizations are becoming involved in the work of the Union government. All the Union republics are represented in the group that is preparing the package of documents on transferring to a market economy. Unfortunately, centrifugal forces have now gained such speed that slowing down the republics is not easy. But slow down they must. Of this the government and prime minister are firmly convinced.

The government program is based on Soviet unity, and the authors of the program see freedom for the manufacturer as a guarantee of this unity. Economic separatism—whether in the form of a Ukrainian market, a Moldavian market, an Estonian market, or whatever—with its own "protection," customs, and money is no less dangerous than political separatism.

"There were common state laws in our country even 500 years ago, in the time of Ivan III, but some people here are now nurturing ideas about how to tear the country into little pieces," N. Ryzhkov said. "The republics must be strong and they must be given economic independence, but there must also be movement of capital and material resources about the country. Otherwise vast losses are inevitable."

Yes, we can certainly do without unnecessary losses. Especially as considerable ordeals lie ahead. Although the working group is now devoting a great deal of attention to social protection for the population (the original few lines have run into a whole program), we will not be able to enter the market economy painlessly. N. Ryzhkov did not conceal his concern. Neither did those who came with him to the press conference: Yu. Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; L. Abalkin, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission on Economic Reform; V. Pavlov, USSR Minister of Finance; and L. Vid, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee. So it was certainly no accident that one of the questions asked by journalists was this: If social tension increases, will the government not deviate from its planned path and abandon its program?

To which came the reply:

"We will fight for this program. It is the end result of a lot of hard work and we can see no other solution."

There was also another idea. In order to find your place in the market economy you have to be a participant. Many people—from workers to ministers—are already linking their plans for the future to this economy. In what way? Primarily by hoping that what was impersonally referred to as "ours" for a very long time (and still is referred to in this way) will finally become either individual or collective property. People are sure that the whole of society will benefit from this.

Laptev Comments on Perestroyka, New Press Law

90US1248B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with I. Laptev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and chairman of the board of the Union of Journalists, by A. Plutnik; place and date not given: "Ivan Laptev: In Any Case the Situation Must Change"]

[Text] We are talking with Ivan Dmitriyevich Laptev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and chairman of the board of the country's Union of Journalists. From April 1984 to May 1990 he worked as the chief editor of IZVESTIYA.

[Plutnik] Your fate during the years of perestroyka has turned out to be closely tied to those trends in our sociopolitical life in which the most democratic breakthroughs were achieved. Specifically, the press and parliamentary activities. Therefore a natural theme for our conversation is the development of society and the state of society. The Law on the Press just went into effect. What kind of difficulties did you face as the recent chief editor of IZVESTIYA that your successor will not have to face?

[Laptev] To be honest, I myself have never considered the fact that I was concerned with these two developments in public life. And I would rather talk about something else—the changed circumstances themselves in the editor's work and the Law on the Press. Without doubt this is an event which several generations of Soviet journalists and all of our intelligentsia have worked toward and dreamed about. Now each newspaper and each journal is becoming an independent legal entity. They themselves are making decisions and answering for each word before the law and, consequently, before society. This, properly speaking, is freedom: To live with untied hands and to answer for oneself. But is it simpler to live under conditions of freedom than under conditions of lack of freedom? Is it easier to learn to live freely? How does one compare the freedom that has been received with the transformations that gave birth to it, and compare them so that true democracy is supported and its refreshing influence on society is strengthened?

[Plutnik] But are we being too quick to assert that freedom of speech is achieved as soon as the Law on the Press goes into effect? Giving a new function to the censor is not the same as dismantling the "mechanism of restraint." And how many good laws were adopted that changed once they were put into practice?

[Laptev] Yes, much is being written and said today about laws that do not work. And at times the laws themselves are to blame. But to put it seriously, why does it happen that way? It is perfectly clear that it is difficult for a person to begin a whole new life starting today, so it must be that much harder for a society to do the same. It is a process during which an interaction takes place between the legislative act which has been adopted and existing practice. At times it is simpler to call this interaction confrontation—a new law is superimposed on an old system of relations and on old structures: State, economic, and social. The tendency is toward self-preservation, and that means that the new principles of the law are obstructed. One must also keep in mind that legislative acts fall among us onto a soil of legal nihilism and an almost absolute disrespect for legal norms. This, by the way, also finds expression in the numerous reproaches against "nonfunctioning" laws and in reproaches which often take place far in advance of the day the law is supposed to go into effect.

Of course some of the new laws really are vulnerable to criticism—they vary greatly in quality. If over three sessions the Supreme Soviet has adopted 60 fundamental acts, then naturally you will not have an identical opinion of each of them. Some are already working, so to say, full steam ahead. Look at how the law on differentiating powers between the Union and subjects of the federation has turned out during any discussion at sessions of the republic Supreme Soviet and at the congresses! A very great effort is needed to ensure that all of them begin working as they should. Especially when we are speaking of fundamentally new legal acts.

[Plutnik] Ivan Dmitriyevich, a mechanism for putting laws into practice is very important indeed. But something else is probably no less important. Remember the atmosphere that existed, at least on certain days, at the 28th CPSU Congress. In my opinion, that was an atmosphere of active opposition to the new democratic aspirations. And it expresses the state of mind not of rank and file officials but of a significant number of leaders who either put laws into practice or obstruct them. Take, for example, the issue of leasing. If many people currently cannot receive land when they want to, it is not only because of defects in the new law. It is because the law does not seem to be written for everyone. They say, "We will carry it out if we want to, and if we do not want to..."

[Laptev] You know, in your words I hear a theme that we are trying to get away from. You are talking about the 28th party congress. But the congress assembled representatives of the party, not representatives of the state power. These days there is a significant difference. To appreciate it, it is enough to recall the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the first clause of the basic decree adopted by it. Of course the party structures still have significant power even today. Nonetheless, the emphasis should not be laid on them—they cannot and should not create or interpret laws or monitor their implementation; they should only observe them like all organizations and citizens.

The laws on leasing and on land are not implemented for the most part because our soviets at the local level are still weak and still have not recognized and felt their strength and power. In addition, more often than not situations arise when, for instance, the chairman of a kolkhoz [collective farm] or the director of a sovkhoz [state farm] also becomes chairman of the rural or settlement soviet. He wears two hats. And in the one position he is allegedly supposed to affirm something which contradicts his interests in the other position. The results of coinciding positions still have not been fully determined—in some cases the party secretary really has become an effective head of Soviet power, and in others he commands the power of the soviet, as before, from the desk of the raykom [rayon party committee] or obkom [oblast party committee].

You and I wrote so much about private farmers, fought for them, and called upon others to become private farmers! But did many become farmers? Managers often forbade people point-blank to become private farmers. But now they function differently. They act reasonable and humane: They say, "Why do you want land and a farm when you do not have equipment, fertilizer, or money? You are going to break your back for 12 hours a day and plunge yourself into the foolishness of village life.... Do you really want that? Wait a bit and industry will begin to produce small-scale equipment and develop an inventory. We will open an account for you in the bank—work at your leisure...." Later, not now!

Such arguments are not simply an unwillingness to change, they are the very psychology of the period of stagnation, when everything was decided from above. This psychology was also in evidence at the recent party congress where time and time again the same thought was repeated as soon as the countryside became the topic of conversation: We must care for them, we must consider, we must give.... We must care for them! First we at the top will do this and that, and then afterward you will work.... But it is time to let a person care for himself—then he will come to value his time and everything that he has and everything he is responsible for. Otherwise he will not. The very first thing he needs is freedom of choice. Freedom as a whole and freedom of choice. Let him care for himself, do not command him, do not arrange things in his name, do not deprive him of property, and he will care for everything and for the country. He himself will become the guarantor of the effectiveness of the new law.

[Plutnik] But when the question is put that way, much still needs to be changed in the system of our state and social priorities. The interests of the individual have invariably yielded to the "interests of the affair" or to the interests of the state, of a department, and of "society as a whole." Sacrifice was demanded again and again. Do you believe that this same tendency is showing itself these days as well? Today too the leaders often prefer to speak in the name of the people without knowing their opinion. They do it as though thay are informing the people of which opinion they should support. It is a type of instruction from above which has passed for a long time for public opinion. In this fashion they cheated the people and cheated themselves: Our leadership heard only its own voice. And the echo from it was taken as the opinion of the people.

[Laptev] Well, whatever the habit was, whatever the tendency was, the game went on for many long years. It was a dishonest game that was passed off as an honest one. And it was one thing when they played the game with an individual or a group, and another when they did it with the press. Or when the press itself played the game. But let us make one more step forward and say that even today the press sometimes returns to that old game. But previously its "partners" were the bosses who opened the newspaper and were told by it how well they were running the country; now the press plays the game at times with individual groups and with certain tendencies and moods. Today, you know, there are social movements which are beyond criticism and certain personalities beyond criticism. This is a fact that cannot be denied. The press itself has created new idols as though having taken upon itself the exclusive duty of admiring them.

The new law is stimulating all our colleagues to free themselves from the fetters of tradition and ideological captivity more quickly. At the same time, I foresee many serious problems when it goes into effect. For example, there are a series of norms which must be regulated by court decisions alone. We never had such a thing. It means that application of the law will still need to be worked out. Judicial responsibility for slander, hate propaganda, and other actions forbidden by the law is needed. However it is possible that unprofessional presses, and there are many of them today, will try to win popularity by the easiest route—chasing after scandal and rumors. The courts will be overwhelmed by suits against newspapers and other mass media. This is a serious threat to the action of the law. Who will monitor this process? Currently we do not have any such institution.

[Plutnik] What about in the Supreme Soviet—the Committee on Glasnost?

[Laptev] The Committee on Glasnost will not, of course, remain on the sidelines, but it represents a legislative organ. The Union of Journalists? But then the Union of Journalists, instead of defending journalists, would have to take on the opposite function, one that is not appropriate to it. There remains the procurator. But for the procurator to bring action against an organ of the press or some author, he must know precisely that it qualifies for this or that reason and he must have a professional analysis of that crime.

I do not believe that we must create a new state structure, but some sort of social institution is necessary.

[Plutnik] The fact that society is so ill-prepared to live according to law and the absence of a lack of established practice will probably make themselves felt for a long time. As will the unreadiness to live according to the truth. But how do we eliminate this deficiency? Apparently the only way to do it is to simply live.

[Laptev] In my opinion, the main difficulty today is not just the empty shelves and the shortage of goods, it is that inward unwillingness and unpreparedness of very many people to live according to the standards of the new times. Look at how many people there are who are more in need of dogma than its absence and who prefer to deal with ideological schemes than with real material. The cry, "Restore our faith to us!" which resounded at the last congresses is also a reflection of such views and references. Blind faith has its place, but in politics it is simply ruinous. It was no accident that Lenin taught Communists not to take a single word on faith! It is strange that the people who swear by his name in fact do not want to follow him at all. It seems that some of us are closer to the famous postulate attributed to Foma Akvinskiy: "I believe because it is absurd."

However I do not want to start reproaching anyone for such a state of mind. If we are to call things by their true names, we ourselves are quite ignorant. And how could it be otherwise! We read abridged literature. Platonov, Bulgakov, Gumilev, Belyy, Boloshin, Dombrovskiy, Grossman, Solzhenitsyn, and dozens of other names without which, it seems, our national culture is inconceivable, have just been revealed to us. To us! But the older generation passes on without having been exposed to these spiritual treasures. And social science! Have you ever heard the saying, "Comrade Stalin spoke, and Comrade Mitin interpreted," meaning truth in a removed and prepared form? You have not heard it. But this was our "social science" for many years! Even teachers of social sciences taught according to commentaries rather than according to primary sources. After 1937 or 1938 Hegel was not republished for almost 40 years! We knew the "mistakes" of Fromm and criticized Weber and Jaspers, Kierkegaard and Heidegger, without having seen their books even from a distance. Dissertations were defended based on the defamations of Marcuse. But his "One-Dimensional Man" or "Essay on Liberation" would not harm us now. How much has been written on "Freudian complexes," and in the meantime Freud's work "Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego" should, in my opinion, be a reference book for anyone who addresses any sort of audience. At the end of the sixties, apparently, Albert Schweitzer's work "Culture and Ethics" was translated and published by mistake, but only for scientific libraries. We are discovering Karamzin, Klyuchevskiy, Florenskiy, Berdyayev, and the historian Solovyev; we are beginning to acquaint ourselves with the philosopher Vladimir Solovyev, and I hope that soon we will be able to read his "The Justification of the Good"—in my opinion one of the greatest books of the century.

And painting, music, movies, and theatrical productions! There are hundreds of significant creations! We were deprived of contact with them, and as a result our aggressive ignorance grew, which only permitted us to extol ourselves shamelessly and to teach others haughtily. Recall the concluding portion of Brezhnev's report and the 25th CPSU Congress—how the education of the new man was declared there! He would almost become an angel in the flesh! But who is it then who rages about, lies, drinks, skips work, and works poorly among us? Incidentally, to blame the people is the last thing to do. There is nothing worse and more mistaken. But the fact is that to a significant degree we have destroyed the system of views and the system of values and self-appraisal of the individual—everything that man stands upon—intending, as Stalin said, to create a special race of people. And today, when we have discovered life's complexities and such an immensity of information, when the whole world is thrust in front of us and it seeks us out, many people have completely lost their reference points.

[Plutnik] In connection with that, I have a question about self-nomination. In my opinion it is directly connected with what you are saying—with the loss of reference points. At first it seems that we all attributed it to eccentricity—when some totally unknown person stood up and proposed himself for one of the high state posts. But then the "individual occurrence" was repeated. Many times. Does it seem to you that hidden behind this is some poorly understood phenomenon of public life?

[Laptev] When someone who is now familiar to all the deputies proposed himself for a high state post at the first Congress of People's Deputies, many took it not simply as a joke but as a kind of act of desperation and as a manifestation of bravery. Good man! But a precedent had been made. And now hardly an important assembly goes by without self-nominations. I must confess, I am not convinced that those who have proposed themselves for, let us say, the post of chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet or the first deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee are aware of what kind of work it entails or what qualities it demands. I am not convinced that those who are distinguished by a great thirst for power—and we have more than enough of such people—are clearly aware of why they need power and what they intend to do with it. Then what takes place in such an extravagant act as self-nomination? Political dilettantism? An annoying assurance that at a time of all-embracing professionalism the dilettante still has his "niche"—high state and party posts? Each instance probably has its own explanation. But I would like to say this: Probably we ourselves have aroused in people a familiar temptation and corrupted them with the fact that there are those who have often landed and continue to land even very high posts and who, to put it mildly, are hardly models of true professionalism and do not possess the high intellect and deep analytical abilities that are so necessary to politics.

And the appearance of new political parties is cause for that same phenomenon of self-nomination. People agree to create their own party. And they create one. But for a party to be viable, there should be few desires and ambitions even in a group of very able people. A serious party should not arise upon purely political grounds; it should have firm public support. For instance, each form of property ownership aspires to have its own "political voice." That is natural, it reflects a real interest, and a party which becomes the political embodiment of such an interest may rely solidly upon it. Only afterward does the party create an appearance of "being for itself." But if the interest erodes or is entirely absent, if there is no firm social base, then it is difficult for any new party to count on favorable prospects no matter how "vocal" it may be.

But all of this must be endured without our attacking one another. Perestroyka is for all of us—this is still the age of political education and intellectual enlightenment.

[Plutnik] And in my opinion the USSR Supreme Soviet is doing much in that direction. It has become a type of creative laboratory for developing democratic freedoms and principles—pluralism of opinion, freedom of speech, etc. Nonetheless, we are presently seeing a drop in its popularity rating and in the public's interest in what is being said there. Is that a consequence of the fact that too many words have been pronounced but life has changed little?

[Laptev] Today one might call the Supreme Soviet a laboratory not only of new approaches but of new personnel. Take a look at how many members of the Supreme Soviet have been elected to important Soviet posts, appointed to state positions, and have become members of republic governments! That alone says something about the significance and character of the work of the country's Supreme Soviet—it is very quickly discovering and advancing new, surprisingly sharp and talented people, although, of course, that is not its main role. About the rating, the latest polls show that people nonetheless consider the Supreme Soviet the most authoritative organ and have the greatest faith in it. Yes, its rating vacillates, and strongly at times. But that is quite understandable, because both popular and unpopular bills are being adopted. And the meetings affect each of us differently. Sometimes they are quite instructive, and other times they are clumsy. This is real work and they are real people. You must realize that the country had no professional politicians! They got their training during the democratic electoral campaigns, in the fight for deputy posts, and in the work of the congresses and the Supreme Soviet. And they have brought to the assembly of the Supreme Soviet not only the passions of the mass meeting but also those ideas with which they were enriched in the sphere of their former activities. But now they are in another sphere. A scholar in a scientific debate or at a scientific symposium may say, "I think it is this way." The politician must say "I know it is this way." He must say that he knows, thoroughly and with certainty. An artist or a writer may say at a meeting with viewers or readers, "It seems to me." But from the tribune of the Supreme Soviet a politician or a state official is obligated to cite the data of precise accounts. But the deputies are quickly mastering the rules and the demands of parliamentary work and developing something new, something we have never had before. The parliamentary holidays are here. But few people know that the Supreme Soviet and its committees and commissions continue to function. And I am speaking not just of those active consultations with representatives of the republics which you report on daily. Those deputies who are working on draft bills are arriving and bringing alternative drafts, meeting with citizens, and gathering experts together. Some have not even taken a vacation—they are working on the laws that we will be examining in the fall.

As for the perceptions of readers and television viewers concerning what takes place in the Supreme Soviet, it seems to me that we have acted and continue to act thoughtlessly and impractically by showing endless meetings and endless debates on four channels and all over Soviet television. All this is extremely boring.

[Plutnik] But television makes the deputies famous and popular. And a serious political figure needs that. I even think that to a certain degree he needs to be a populist, even though we have always been prejudiced against that notion. Perhaps even the highest representatives of power need some populist gestures.

[Laptev] In politics it is important to foresee as much as possible the consequences of each step. For example, I attended the constituent congress of the Russian Communist Party and then the 28th CPSU Congress, and very often I said to myself how good it was that we managed to establish the institution of the presidency at the Congress of People's Deputies. And how much criticism, suspicion, and all types of allusions, even the most indecent and unseemly, there were concerning that same subject. But history has now shown us that this step, this decision, was simply necessary, even if it was, perhaps, somewhat slow in coming. In this same fashion history will demonstrate the true worth of any sort of populist steps.

As for today's evaluations, on the one hand it is legitimate to consider populism an instrument of demagogy, aggravation of passions, etc. On the other hand, populism may also be considered an ability to communicate with the masses and an ability to reach out to people and convince them that you are "their man" and that you represent them. For politicians this is an extremely important task! Believe me, all U.S. presidents are genuine populists. They travel about, they gather crowds of many thousands of people, they shake everyone's hands, and they speak a few pleasant words. It is a type of performance that establishes psychological contact between the masses and political figures.

Yes, populism is a matter of a fairly undeveloped consciousness, the impulsiveness of the crowd, and so on. However, from the point of view of the politician, populism is a great strength.

But before I finish I will add that populism and populist moods can turn into great problems. Populism is capricious and very rancorous, and the line the political figure walks must be very fine indeed if he is to win authority and at the same time not commit himself so much that later that authority returns like a boomerang—in the form of a promissory note and repayment of promises. This is what is happening now, unfortunately, to some people's deputies who, during the electoral campaign, promised much through inexperience. Today people are beginning to ask, "Here is your program, here are your words, but where are the results?"

[Plutnik] More and more often populists are being found not only among political figures but among organs of the press as well. Perhaps one must be a populist to be famous.

[Laptev] I must tell you that at present any sufficiently well-known newspaper has no problem attracting interest of a populist sort. It only needs to publish a few photographs of dachas built for the relatives of a former general secretary or photocopies of the proceedings of the "cotton" trials, or mention privileges a little more often. Some presses are acting that way now, but I believe that all this is a hunt for trifles. The main privilege is the privilege of power. I read somewhere that some person's power was small, but unlimited. This is what we must fight—unlimited power and absolute power. We must recognize and reveal its many faces and its character, which are peculiar to our society and system alone: So long as we live in a society that distributes, those who distribute will appropriate privileges. And it does not matter who it is—a party bigwig, a storekeeper, or the person who stands behind the counter.

A happy fate has befallen today's editors and those who are joining the field and are working at newspapers and on radio and television. Because in these five years we have lived through an amazing maturation of the Soviet press, a maturation almost up to the standards of the modern world. Even surpassing those standards in some things. The opportunities are fantastic.

Today the most important thing is how the press will make use of these new opportunities. How it will preserve what it has won. What it will fight for and what it will struggle against. It seems to me that he who orients himself toward the most important thing will come out on top. Yes, economics, and yes, politics—it is true that we need to cover more of these things. But it turns out that we cannot profit by economics and politics as we should because of the quality of "human material"—and I hope that no one will be offended by such words. It is just this problem of human material which, in my opinion, becomes important. Look at what a paradox it is. In our country no one is guilty of anything. Yes, we said in our time that existence determines consciousness, forgetting to add that social existence determines social consciousness. But each person with a lazy mind has taken that saying as a weapon: He says that once existence determines consciousness, that means that he is forced to think and act that way. In this fashion he receives absolution from all future sins! And as a result our country has formed—may the great Kant forgive me!—an immoral categorical imperative, and in fact no one accuses himself of anything. Neither at the top nor at the bottom—no one is guilty of anything. Because no one knows at all who is doing what and who is responsible for what.

[Plutnik] It is as though social phenomena justify everyone and anyone. And the fate of the individual is only a particular example characterizing the general situation: irresponsibility—thoughtless people and loafers; drunkenness—drunks; the increase in crime—thieves.

[Laptev] No one is guilty of anything.... In the meantime the problem of the human spirit, the problem of the human soul cries out. Having made such a difficult journey, having pulled down the bars, having cast off the chains, we have suddenly discovered that man himself does not wish to rush out to freedom.... And this may be the most difficult question for the fate of the country. It affects everything: economics, politics, and morality. This is the center of gravity today. You must realize that the most important destruction in 70 years is the destruction of man. We destroyed all foundations and did not create new ones. Or, more accurately, the things that we created turned out to be lies. And imagine the feeling of the mass of people who believed, endured, suffered, and traveled the "scientifically based, uniquely correct" path; imagine their feeling when they are told that it was all in vain. And they, hearing those words "in vain," ask in frenzy and rage, with blood and with tears, "Then what did I suffer for?"

Unfortunately, some new social movements try to exploit that bitter feeling and use it as an axe to split society. In that respect they are very reminiscent of messengers and the demanding slogan, "He who is not with us is against us." That slogan is being reborn on a new wave. And if a psychological way out is not found on that level, then I believe neither full shelves nor "good bosses" will save us.

The important thing is not in consuming as much as others consume—because I am convinced that the others do not know what happiness is either—or in having a full store or a full closet. Instead, happiness is the ability to do what you want. Happiness is freedom of choice. It is freedom of independent labor. Today we are still not capable of such happiness. And that has become a tremendous obstacle to perestroyka. We all expect prosperity, not from ourselves but from someone else or from the state: This is why the conflict over distribution will not quiet down. Full-time distribution of everything. But it seems to me that in any case the situation must change. The most important thing that can happen is for man to demand to be allowed to do what he wants. And once he has received the opportunity for this kind of self-development, he will be happy even in the hardest life.

Economic

Abalkin Discusses Search for Consensus on Reform

904A0561A Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK in Russian No 33, Aug 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Leonid Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform, by commentator Yu. Rytov; place and date not given: "What Will Our Lives Be Like Tomorrow?"]

[Text] [Rytov] Leonid Ivanovich, we are all primarily interested in how work is progressing on preparation of the government program of transition to market relations....

[Abalkin] There is endless discussion in society on the question of the transition to a controlled market economy. But for the government the time of discussion is past and a period of action—consistent, vigorous, and well-coordinated action—has arrived.

Only a little time is left for completion of the work associated with fulfillment of the assignment of the USSR Supreme Soviet. By 1 September—not a day later—the government is to have submitted for parliament's consideration a specific program of practical steps pertaining to transition to the market; beginning this year even. A package of legislative instruments, without which it is impossible to imagine the efficient functioning of market relations, is to be submitted simultaneously. An account of the progress of fulfillment of the laws which have already been enacted, the factors that are impeding their successful realization, and the measures needed to overcome these difficulties have to be presented also.

Much talk has been heard recently about alternative versions of the Soviet economy's way out of the crisis. An independent and authoritative commission which included leading scholars of the country, practical workers, and the leaders of a number of associations and unions recently created in the country, was formed to evaluate them. This commission is headed by Academician A.G. Aganbegyan and Professor N.P. Shmelev. They are not only well-known scholars but also people with an independent position. They also have little time left. By 15 August the commission is to have submitted to the government its findings and recommendations on what may be put to use in this proposal or the other for an improvement in the government program. Representatives of all the Union republics have been enlisted in the work on the government program as of the start of August. This permits the hope that we will manage to arrive at concerted positions, at least on the main matters of principle. We should not downplay the difficulties in the search for accord and the differences of approach which there are in the Union government and the leadership of the Union republics. But however difficult this path, without it and without accord being reached, implementation of radical reform and transition to the market are simply unrealistic.

[Rytov] And evidently it is necessary, first and foremost, to agree on the kind of market at issue....

[Abalkin] Naturally. Today everyone is for the market, everyone is for a controlled market. Any other—a not controlled market—would now mean anarchy. A "wild" market would not allow the economy to rid itself of its ailments and could only make a negative situation worse. Nonetheless, the question remains: Are we moving toward a single all-Union market or should we set as our goal the creation of 15 autonomous independent markets protected from each other by customs barriers? Dependent on the answer to this question is the solution of many other problems—concerning a single monetary system, a central bank, customs policy, common principles of the formation of the tax system, and much else. Are all questions sufficiently clear today even? It has to be said plainly that final decisions have not yet been reached on a number of problems, problems of principle what is more. A balanced search for the best solutions is underway. I refer specifically to a set of measures pertaining to the financial recovery of the economy, a sharp reduction in or the complete elimination of the budget deficit, the sequence and stages of the reform of pricing, and finally the structure of management of economy in the center and locally.

There has already been much operating time spent and many proposals on how to tackle these questions, but a final decision has yet to be made. Nonetheless the government must complete this work urgently. It cannot show itself to be bankrupt, and it is essential that it present its proposals for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet within the established time frame.

[Rytov] The report at the joint meeting of the Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation on 20 July by N.I. Ryzhkov emphasized that we should come to the USSR Supreme Soviet "not with numerous versions of the program of transition to the market—the Ryzhkov version, the Yeltsin version, the Nazarbayev version—I am speaking hypothetically, but with a single, concerted action program." Does this mean that alternative proposals will not be considered in the government concept?

[Abalkin] I do not rule out the fact that on certain questions alternative methods of solving problems with a description of the pluses and minuses of each option will be proposed. After all, the right of final decisionmaking belongs to parliament. The government is obliged to honestly report and substantiate its program and set forth the merits and shortcomings of possible solutions within the framework of a common integral program of transition to a controlled market economy.

[Rytov] It became known not that long ago that an expert group of scholars and specialists for the elaboration of a concept of transition to a market economy on a Union scale had been formed. You also are a member of the group.... Kindly explain, Leonid Ivanovich, the tasks which have been set this group.

[Abalkin] I repeat, there is nothing more important now than seeking accord in the choice of the main directions of transition to the market and the solution of the problems connected with this. It is this concern, concern for the achievement of accord, which in my view dictated the decision which was made to form a working group of the country's leading scholars and specialists. This agreement was reached between USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, and also the heads of government of the USSR and the RSFSR, N.I. Ryzhkov and I.S. Silayev. This working group has no less complex tasks. They are to draw up a concerted concept of an all-Union program. This is to be a program of transition to a market economy as essentially the basis of the new Union treaty. Understandably, fundamental strategic measures requiring the adoption of political decisions must be provided for here.

However, as far as the government program is concerned, it has more pragmatic tasks. We have to determine the specific steps and practical measures and actions for the months ahead and for 1991. This must be reflected both in the program itself and in the draft plan and budget for 1991 which are being drawn up on a fundamentally new basis, that is, as they have never before been drawn up in our long history. We cannot halt the inexorable course of life and the flow of economic processes. The year of 1991 already figures on the business executive's calendar. In any developed market economy the businessman must be well informed at least six months ahead about the capacity of the market or the extent of public need for his products, about the conditions of price control, about the profit-taxation rate, and about the interest on bank credit. To maintain steady activity he must conclude hundreds, sometimes thousands of business contracts, without which production might simply come to a halt.

[Rytov] And what is now happening with us?

[Abalkin] We are more likely to be behind these processes than ahead of them. Consequently, there is no time to warm up; vigorous practical steps are needed. It is these that are to be determined in the government program. There is, therefore, in the work on them and in the activity of the president's working group no duplication or parallelism, although everything in life is interrelated. We have therefore reached agreement on a mutual exchange of information. The government will immediately forward all the decisions it has prepared to the working group and will receive the pertinent material from the latter. Given good will and an understanding of the responsibility for the seriousness of the decisions which are being prepared, concord and mutual enrichment with ideas, thoughts, and proposals are perfectly realistic.

[Rytov] But will it not be that there will be a fundamental change in the government program also under the impact of the decisions of the president's working group—let us call it such?

[Abalkin] I believe that the government program, which was considered in May in the Supreme Soviet, will undergo considerable change. The basis for this is both the actual debate which developed in the Supreme Soviet and the subsequent discussion of this problem in the country. Nor can the debate which developed at the 28th CPSU Congress be disregarded here. An analysis of all the alternative proposals, evidently in which much of what may be taken into account in the government program will also be found, will be made. It is all this that determines the need for its adjustment and clarification.

As far as the working group is concerned, we can hardly expect big surprises here.

[Rytov] Why?

[Abalkin] For two main reasons. First, on matters of principle and on questions of the strategy of the transition to the market, we are all of like mind. There may be differences as to the particulars, details, timeframe, and sequence of the measures which are implemented. So I see no serious problems from this aspect.

Second, the majority of the participants in this working group—and the public should know this—were themselves active architects of the government program except for one or two persons. They all actually participated in the elaboration of that May program. So here also there is every reason for good mutual understanding.

But bigger surprises and bigger adjustments may be connected not with the actual working group itself but with the active movement of Union republics in the direction of self-determination and sovereignty which is underway in the country. Since discussion of the government program, a number of republics have announced their sovereignty and adopted the corresponding declarations, and we have to take stock of them. Of course, these are as yet simply declarations and have yet to acquire the legal form which will be a reality following the signing of the new Union treaty. Then the process will assume an irreversible nature. It will have been constituted. Now these are as yet intentions. But I repeat, not taking stock of them and not taking stock of the fact that the decisions of the Union parliament will also be discussed in the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics and realized by them has to be taken into consideration. And this fact, of course, will require the adjustment and clarification of many original intentions of the government and the greater decentralization of rights, but I would like to emphasize particularly the responsibility of the Union republics and local authorities also because rights and responsibility are indivisible. The republics may assume considerably greater authority in the adoption of decisions concerning the regulation of production, prices, and financial policy. But this will unambiguously be followed by the assumption of complete responsibility for the solution of the corresponding range of problems.

[Rytov] However, the leaders of some Union republics have also expressed a number of fundamental considerations which differ radically from the position of the Union government.... I am speaking, specifically, of monetary reform and the reform of pricing....

[Abalkin] The question of monetary reform arises periodically. These proposals are to be found among the alternative versions also. We expect in the very near future to obtain the professional findings of the commission for evaluating the alternative versions and will rely on its opinion.

As far as the RSFSR is concerned, I believe what was intended was not a classical monetary reform but the use of an alternative devised by the economists Belkin, Nit, and Medvedev. This concept is well known and has been published frequently. It is most likely this aspect which is referred to. I proceed from the fact that the architects of this program are deputies of the Russian Parliament and are being very insistent in proposing the adoption of their version. Nonetheless, in my view we need to wait for the specialists' assessment and the experts' findings. Neither the Union Government as a whole nor I personally can assume the unequivocal solution of the problem. The diktat of an individual opinion is after all absolutely impermissible in science. We need to affiliate the collective intellect.

And there must be complete clarity in the reform of pricing also. Switching to the market with store counters full of merchandise and a stabilization of consumer demand given the present prices is impossible. Those who assert this are sowing myths or attempting to flirt with public opinion.

The difference amounts merely to the method of price reform to adopt. The first method was proposed by the government: implementing a one-time revision of prices, placing them under government control, and guaranteeing the population social protection in terms of the most important food commodities. A gradual freeing of prices from government control in order that the sphere of regulated or free prices constantly expand and become preponderant is anticipated here. I do not say all-embracing inasmuch as the preservation of some types of government-controlled prices may be assumed in any market economy, as is incidentally the case in the West: for example power rates, fares on mainline passenger transport, and the price of school textbooks and medical prescriptions which could hardly function in a purely market version. This is a social form of prices.

The second option envisages not a one-time rise in national retail prices but an emphatic transition to free pricing. Prices would rise here, and what is more quite appreciably. But the authors of this concept pretend that prices have grown of their own accord and that this is nothing to do with them. For an individual, for the ordinary man, there is of course no difference between the fact of these prices having been raised by the executive authorities or their having grown of their own accord without its participation. He has to pay out of his own pocket, all the same. In proposing this concept or the other we need, therefore, simply to be honest, to tell all there is to know, and not to attempt to deceive public opinion.

It is important to find an effective means of protection of the population against possible price rises and protection of the needy strata which could suffer most and which are not in a position to protect themselves under market conditions. These are large families, pensioners, trainee youth, and so forth. But I emphasize once again with all certainty that stabilizing the consumer market and saturating the store counters with merchandise given the present prices is an insoluble problem. This is not a personal viewpoint but a scientifically proven and incontestable fact.

[Rytov] Leonid Ivanovich, let us return to the work of the president's group. Who will examine the document which it prepares?

[Abalkin] The president's group is to submit its document for consideration by its founders, those who created it. And what is more it should be emphasized that direct supervision of its activity will be exercised by two persons—M.S. Gorbachev and B.N. Yeltsin. How they determine the further movement of the documents which have been prepared is their exclusive right. They may pass them on for examination by the Supreme Soviet, they may officialize them by presidential edict, and they may finally submit them for public discussion.

They are entirely correct, I believe, in not at this time specifying the final terms inasmuch as they themselves have not seen the final document, its quality, the depth of its research, and the seriousness of the proposed solutions. It is not yet known to what extent the proposed measures will be connected with cardinal changes in the economic system and the legal structures. We all, of course, would like this to be a really profound, scientifically substantiated, balanced, and realistic program.

Asks for 'Economic Armistice'

LD2508225890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1456 GMT 25 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Aug (TASS)—Leonid Abalkin, the deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has called on the Union republics for an "18 month economic armistice"—that is, to cover the most painful period in the country's transition to market relations.

Speaking today at a conference of representatives from the trade union organizations of various regions of the USSR, to which leading Soviet economists had been invited, he said: "Let us unite in order to see through the planned program. Let us not make destructive decisions, and let us try by the end of 1991 to drag the country out of the crisis, to prevent it sliding towards chaos, and to improve the health of the financial system and the consumer market. This has to be done betore signing a new Union treaty, work on which could become long and drawn out."

This appeal by one of the architects of the government program for a market economy to its opponents from the national republics was occasioned by their desire to see isolated economic development at the expense of a single pan-Union market. "Regional and national separatism undermines the integrity of the functioning of the country's national economic complex," stressed Leonid Abalkin.

The Union Government, he intimated, is prepared to agree with the Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation the conditions on which it undertakes to implement the planned program. These include the local observance of the laws of the USSR, recognition of the sovereign right of every enterprise to engage in independent economic activity, the pursuance of a financial and credit policy that is common to the whole country, the maintenance of a single monetary system and of a single central bank.

The idea is to minimize the functions of the center—basically to reduce them to ensuring the defense of the country and the upkeep of the Army; to executing inter-governmental agreements, and to setting up centralized material reserves. The government is also prepared to take upon itself the material support of some priority directions—particularly to guarantee the agro-industrial complex supplies of technology, fuel, and other resources.

In other matters the republics would be free to act as they see fit, to rely on their own potential or to ask the center for assistance in tackling whatever tasks, stressed Leonid Abalkin.

Abalkin, Shcherbakov Interviewed on Economy

LD2608015190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Interview with L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and V.P. Shcherbakov, deputy chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), by V. Bakarinov in Moscow on 25 August; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] An all-Union conference on the theme "The Position of the Trade Unions in Connection With the Transition to a Regulated Market Economy" opened in Moscow today in the Hall of Columns at the House of Trade Unions .

[Bakarinov] There is probably not a single person who today remains indifferent to the processes taking place in the country. Hence the attention paid to the speakers' reports and the active stances of those present in the hall in the discussion of one of the main problems facing the state at the present time is quite understandable. As you know, the goverment is rounding off its blueprint for the country's transition to the market. I realize it is a hard thing to do in a couple of words, but I would like you to speak of the new concept for the economic development of the country which it will adopt in the near future.

[Abalkin] Well, what we are working on mainly at the moment is how to fit in to the time available two interconnected processes: the consistent and phased transition to the market which looks set to start in 1991, and the parallel implementation of steps to stabilize the situation in the country to stabilize the economic situation. It is very important—and at the moment we are thinking how best to do this—to stabilize economic ties and prevent them from disintegrating, to support them for a certain time. This must be done without turning back, however.

[Bakarinov] Should the market be centralized or will it assume a regional, local nature?

[Abalkin] We believe the starting point should be the concept of a single pan-Union market. Any attempt to erect regional barriers or to restrict the rights of enterprises and labor collectives is fundamentally anti-democratic and—something which is not generally understood yet—means the birth of a new form of monopolization: the creation of exclusive conditions. This runs counter to the whole of world practice and to progressive trends.

[Bakarinov] What is the trade unions' position on the country's transition to a market economy?

[Shcherbakov] Under no circumstances must the transition to the market be achieved at the expense of the working people. If we see that it is going to result in improvements for the people and improvements for the whole of our national economy, then we will support this position and will generally discuss it with the working people so that there will be a broad exchange of opinion at all levels. Once it gains the support of the people and the support of the working people, then the government can count on its programs being implemented for sure.

Yanayev Attends Opening Trade Union Meeting

LD2508194490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] An all-Union conference of the trade union aktiv opened today at the Hall of Columns Hall of the House of Unions in Moscow. Yanayev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in its work. The government's program for introducing market relations and also alternatives, including the Russian 500 Days program, were submitted to the participants in the conference. The aktiv is continuing its work.

'Warning' to Government Proposed

LD2608163690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] The all-Union conference of trade union activists is continuing at the Hall of Columns of the House of Unions in Moscow. This morning the meeting was addressed by (Kuzminok), chairman of the Central Committee of the Fish Industry Workers' Union. He advocated unity in the country's trade union movement, unity of a reinvigorated USSR, and a revised Constitution. He described the failure to adopt a law on the rights of the USSR trade unions as a flagrant blunder on the part of the government. Because this law will make a serious contribution toward stabilizing society, the government needs it even more than the trade unions, which already have sufficient rights and levers for upholding their interests. He proposed that the government be given a warning. If the law is not adopted at the autumn session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the trade unions will demand the government's resignation.

At the end of the conference the trade unionists will probably adopt a statement on the trade unions' attitude toward the switch to a market economy. The draft has already been circulated among the participants in the conference.

New Government Program Urged

LD2608170490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] The all-Union conference of the trade union aktiv, which was formulating the stance of trade unions in connection with the transition to a regulated market economy, ended in Moscow today at the Hall of Columns of the House of Unions.

After examining three alternative versions of a final document, the conference adopted a statement addressed to the Government of the USSR. It states that the past five years of economic restructuring, without a precisely drawn-up program, have resulted in an economic crisis, which has reached a crucial limit. Given the situation that has developed, the trade unions believe that there should be a fundamentally new program for overcoming the crisis. It should be clear to the people, considered, based on the creation of a unified all-Union market, and with a high degree of social protection forming an integral part.

At the same time, the trade unions believe that it is completely wrong that the drawing up of the concept of and the program for the transition to a market economy is being conducted without the participation of trade union representatives. The conference demanded that the Government of the USSR submit to the people by 10 September a full forecast analysis of the country's economic situation and its population at all stages of entry to the market, indicating specific time-scales for gradually overcoming the economic crisis.

The working people await a frank and honest answer from the government. The trade unions stated that they are categorically opposed to the standpoint which consciously supports unemployment at a certain level. The statement is also sharply negative with regard to attempts to expropriate trade union property and to the arrogant and patronizing attitudes toward trade unions left over from the command-based administrative period.

On behalf of the conference, people's deputies from the trade unions have been instructed to defend the trade union view at the next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, that a transition to the market is possible only via a referendum, and to also firmly insist on the adoption of a law on the rights of trade unions.

Yanayev, WFTU's Zakaria Meet in Moscow

LD2508013590 Moscow TASS in English 2127 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 25 [date as received] TASS—Gennadiy Yanayev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, met on Friday Ibrahim Zakaria, secretary general of the World Federation of Trade Unions [WFTU] visiting the USSR at the invitation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

They discussed problems of the International Trade Union and Workers' Movement. Zakaria told Yanayev about preparations for the 12th World Congress of Trade Unions due to be held on November 12-20 in Moscow.

Reductions in Soviet Oil Production Viewed

LD2408220990 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] [First Announcer] Lately the Soviet Union noticeably reduced its oil exports to some East European countries. This has led to price hikes on gasoline in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Our commentator Irina Pavlova has interviewed in this connection a member of the Institute of World Economy and Political Research, Vasiliy Vinogradov.

[Second Announcer] In my view, said Vasiliy Vinogradov, cuts in the Soviet oil exports were caused by several reasons. In the first place oil extraction, which in 1987 and 1988 failed to be increased, has lowered in the past year and a half. Second, oil products are in short supply in the USSR itself. In the past couple of years whole constituent republics will have been denied the opportunity to meet their requirements in petrol and fuel.

Because of fuel shortages, the Soviet airlines deny tickets to millions of passengers inside the country annually. At the moment the country is facing great difficulties because of the shortages of gasoline needed for transporting the grain crop. That is why in early July Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov decided to reduce the exports of oil and oil products by 7 million tonnes to use them for domestic needs.

Third, the export prices of oil, which have fallen by half in the past four years, do not stimulate exports of oil.

[First Announcer] Are the present difficulties in the area of oil exports temporary or do they reflect a long term negative trend?

[Second Announcer] I think that the state of affairs in Soviet oil extraction is much more complex than many people think. Late last year a prominent Soviet economist, Oscar Latvis, predicted that the mid-90's oil extraction in the country, and consequently oil exports, would noticeably fall. It looks like his prognostication is materializing. According to recent assessments this year's oil output, making up 607 million tonnes, might go down to 560 or 580 million tonnes in the next few years. That's why our oil exports might be reduced by 50 percent.

[First Announcer] But won't the USSR take advantage of the oil boom which is possible because of the crisis in the Persian Gulf?

[Second Announcer] In my view, because of not enough resources for exports, the Soviet Union will hardly be able to increase oil deliveries abroad to enhance its hard currency revenues.

[First Announcer] There are allegations that cuts in the Soviet oil exports to East European countries are attempts to exert political pressure on them in connection with the change of government system.

[Second Announcer] These allegations are unfounded. East European countries are the biggest buyers of Soviet petroleum. They count for 40 to 45 percent of Soviet oil exports. As a matter of fact, cuts in the Soviet exports to East European countries are not as great as reductions in its oil exports to the West. Besides, Soviet oil deliveries to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR ensure per capita consumption equal to that in the USSR itself.

Coal Industry Minister Discusses Coal Situation

LD2608140990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1115 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Interview with Mikhail Ivanovich Shchadov, USSR minister of coal industry, by correspondent Yu. Korotkov; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Korotkov] Mikhail Ivanovich, could you outline the situation in the industry at present?

[Shchadov] The country's coal industry is functioning in difficult circumstances. The situation is complex in a whole range of coal regions. There are numerous reasons for this, the main one being today's inadequate provision of miners with material and technical resources. Discipline is declining in some places and there are difficulties in labor organization. On the whole, however, we believe that in 1990 the industry's miners will cope with the tasks set by the country as regards solid fuel supplies. More than 50 million tonnes of coal will have been extracted above plan since the start of the Five Year Period. Complicated and tough though it be, the problems will be resolved. [passage omitted]

During the strikes and rallies on 11 July the miners made not economic but political demands. Some of these can and must be accepted, but some issues such as the removal of party committees from pits and enterprises must not only be addressed at rallies, the Communists themselves and each labor collective must resolve these issues on the basis of their specific circumstances. The depoliticization of the Army, the KGB, the law-enforcement bodies as a whole, as well as of the courts and Procuracy—this is a big issue and I think it will be resolved in those bodies and by the Communists who actually work in them.

[Korotkov] Mikhail Ivanovich, in connection with the upcoming transition to market relations, how will the industry fare? Will miners be in a better position? Will things become problem-free or will the situation deteriorate in your view?

[Shchadov] In my view there will be some complications and difficulties in the transition to market relations, but there can be no return to the past and we, together with the country's entire national economy, will move to market relations. [passage omitted]

[Korotkov] What can coal consumers hope for in the coming autumn-winter season?

[Shchadov] I think this year, across the national economy as a whole, those enterprises that are closely concerned with coal supplies are not handling everything at the proper level. I am concerned that already many soviet power stations that receive and are fuelled by our coal have inadequate coal supplies and may come up against great difficulties in the initial cold months. We feel ourselves to be deeply indebted and responsible to the country's metallurgists, having incurred a shortfall of around one million tonnes of coking coal in deliveries to them this year. This places a great responsibility upon us. We realize ferrous metallurgy is a base industry and that the entire national economy depends on it. We will do all we can to gradually pay off this year's debt to the metallurgists and create normal working conditions for them. [passage omitted]

Kryuchkov Views Fight Against Shadow Economy

904A0562A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 90 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[Article by V. Kryuchkov, member of the USSR Presidential Council and chairman of the USSR KGB: "Do We Know the Whole Truth About the Shadow Economy?"]

[Text] *Particular significance is attached to this problem under the conditions of the transition to market relations whose formation will be complex and evidently will initially, despite all the measures that are being adopted, produce a surge of the shadow economy.*

Knowledge of the shadow economy is of practical significance for the law enforcement authorities: It is a nutrient medium of crime, organized crime included, and a source of the largely unwarranted economic stratification of society, a polarization of interests, and the growth of social tension.

I observed in my replies to the questions of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress that the shadow economy has a political aspect inasmuch as it molds antisocial forces with an interest in the continuation of deformations and the conditions for deriving unearned income. It is roughly estimated that of the order of 150 billion rubles [R] are in circulation in the sphere of the shadow economy. The press cites other figures also, both lower and considerably higher.

The main aspect in the evaluation of the shadow economy is the social evaluation: whose interests it harms and to what extent. It is the qualitative analysis of the unfavorable consequences for society of the shadow economy which should be the determining one. After all, a situation where the wealth of a particular stratum of people is accumulated illegally, producing inordinate profits for some to the detriment and at the expense of the interests of others, cannot be tolerated under the conditions of a socialist state based on the rule of law.

In our opinion, the shadow economy incorporates unofficial relations between people that are both unlawful and also not prohibited by law and, consequently, between the subjects of management and administration in connection with the production, distribution, and appropriation of a product for personal (more often than not, mercenary) ends.

It is necessary to be a realist and recognize that the shadow economy is in certain dimensions an inevitable category: inevitable by virtue of the flaws, omissions, and deformations in legal economic relations. It is not for nothing that there is the pithy saying: "The shadow economy oils our mismanagement." Certain types of the shadow economy are not even combated in capitalist countries, and people close their eyes to it inasmuch as certain problems of the needy strata of the population deprived of an opportunity to obtain the necessary income officially are somehow solved thanks to this.

In the opinion of American experts, our country lacks as yet the prerequisites even for the creation of a sufficiently effective mechanism for counteracting the shadow economy inasmuch as the socioeconomic base of its reproduction—the monopolization of the main production spheres by the ministries and departments, the strictly centralized allocation of raw material and intermediate products, the acute shortage of commodities on the consumer market, and corruption in various components of power and production management—persists.

For the law enforcement authorities it is important to have a sound knowledge primarily of the criminal sphere of the shadow economy inasmuch as the nature of economic relations here is such that they conflict directly with the requirements of the law and form the indications of a crime or administrative misdemeanor.

Merely the irrational use of resources, reflected in the system of accounting as unproductive waste and losses, is put at R45 to R55 billion annually. In other words, the accounted losses from mismanagement result in a fictitious gross social product which nonetheless brings in real payments in the form of wages of the order of R8 to R10 billion, naturally not backed by output.

Big losses are incurred by the economy on account of the low level of organization of construction, the quality of the facilities which are surrendered, and the slow assimilation of new capacity. Many industrial facilities are still being surrendered with scandalous amounts of work left undone. This frequently conceals the pilfering of construction materials, figure padding, and the overexpenditure of financial resources.

If we take the figure padding on top of the amounts of work completed at enterprises that are inspected, which constitutes on average one to two percent of the actual amounts, given our gross social product it may be put at R15 to R30 billion. According to the calculations of some specialists, double counting accounts for 40 percent of our aggregate social product.

Considerable sums of unearned money are paid out for idle time at work. According to figures of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, idling is in excess of 30 percent of work time and, given remuneration by the hour, is essentially unearned income. The payments of money in the form of unearned wages ultimately become part of the overall material resource of shadow economic relations, pulling into their orbit a substantial number of working people.

We often explain losses of work time by the imperfection of the organization of production and labor. This is so. However, there are more deep-seated causes. For the majority of our enterprises the payment of wages depends, as before, not on the actual sale of the manufactured products to the consumer but on the volume of manufacture of the commodity product for which a wage rate is determined. Thus the system which has taken shape itself as yet affords opportunities for figure padding and the manufacture of substandard and at times simply unmarketable or unnecessary output.

The framework of the shadow economy, we are convinced, should not be of a purely formal nature. For example, it is impossible to exclude from the sphere of the shadow economy embezzlement as well as figure padding and distortions of accountability. After all, figure padding is frequently done precisely for the purpose of embezzlement, and consequently intrudes most directly into distributive economic relations.

A steady trend of the growth of organized crime, the fight against which has been joined in conjunction with other law enforcement authorities by security officers, has been traced in recent years. This is involved work inasmuch as it requires thorough training and a knowledge of the mechanisms of the operation of both the official and the shadow economies. Intellectual confrontation is manifested here more than anywhere else, and success is determined by "brain work." After all, it is no secret that smart operators of the shadow economy are frequently ahead of the law enforcement authorities in weighing situations and specific action.

Take for example the operations of our newly sprung up and highly enterprising businessmen in the person of individual representatives of cooperatives and joint ventures who, concerning themselves primarily with personal enrichment, are selling overseas for a song metal, raw material, lumber, and foodstuffs. Thus an instance of the export overseas in the guise of abrasive dust of 200 tons of titanium dioxide, from which white pigment is made, was uncovered in the Ukraine. And what is more, it was sold at a price of $1,693.50 per ton, whereas the country is forced to purchase this material abroad at a price of more than $2,600.

According to figures of the State Committee for Statistics, losses from embezzlement in 1989 constituted:

—embezzled items worth over R50, R3.1 billion
—petty pilfering (of an amount of R50 and less), R1.8 billion
—from the sale of embezzled gasoline, R1.8 billion
—from the sale of embezzled construction materials, R500 million

Shadow economic activity is stimulated not only by unsatisfied personal consumption. The huge shortage of various resources and services in production itself is leading to smart operators and fixers in the sphere of industrial consumption becoming a phenomenon just as prevalent as profiteering, short measures, and short-changing in trade. The difference merely being that it is a question not of thousands but of considerably larger sums.

Many blemishes of people's private-ownership mentality will operate at the initial stage of the formation of market relations. It is not fortuitous that over 50 percent of the newly organized cooperatives have embarked not on the path of development of the production of new commodities but that of the rendering of brokerage services where deriving unearned income is easier. Some five times more crimes were detected in the cooperative sector in 1989 than in 1988, and what is more the growth of offenses is considerably ahead of the increase in the number of cooperatives and the numbers of persons working in them. In the first quarter of the current year banking institutions issued from the accounts of the cooperatives approximately R6 billion in ready cash, while payments into the cooperatives' accounts were only R450,000. In the past six months the issuance of cash from the cooperatives' accounts exceeded payments into them by R12 billion, while in the first six months of 1989 this excess amounted to R7 billion.

Who are the "dramatis personae," the subjects of the shadow economy? They are underground entrepreneurs and businessmen in receipt of substantial profits by means of both the embezzlement of public resources and the exploitation of others' labor included. It is they who accumulate the lion's share of illegal income, some of which is subsequently redistributed sometimes with the aid of racketeering, into the sphere of organized crime.

The appreciable increase in the number of Soviet citizens' trips abroad and across the border immediately produced a steep growth in speculation in imported commodities, particularly computers, automobiles, video systems, and so forth. According to approximate figures, in Moscow alone the speculation in computers has brought their owners R1 billion. Does the fact not say a great deal that back in 1985 $1 on the black market was worth R4 to R5, and in 1987 R10 to R15, but that now however its value has risen to R30 to R35.

The scale of the imports and exports of merchandise may be judged by the following data: In 1989 and the current year security officers and customs authorities of the Ukraine have prevented the removal abroad of food products and home electrical equipment of a total value of R3.5 billion. And this given an inspection rate of one out of every 10 persons traveling abroad. And this is, after all, just the Ukraine!

There is every reason to believe that the turnover of trade in imported commodities amounts in the country as a whole to R15-20 billion. Experts estimate the same amount in turnover of the speculation in imported and domestic commodities in short supply from state-organized trade.

Imported commodities of a total worth of approximately R10 billion a year are sold in commission trade. A total of more than R2 billion worth of passenger automobiles is sold annually in the Russian Federation alone. If it is considered that the actual cost of the automobiles sold does not, as a rule, correspond to the prices indicated on the papers, one can imagine what the dimensions of this sphere of the shadow economy are in reality. In a number of regions of the country at the present time the cost of motor vehicles on the black market is three to four and more times their official cost. A veritable "auto" business has announced its presence. Thus, in the first six months of 1990, some 9,000 automobiles were brought to Vladivostok from Japan which second-hand dealers mainly from other republics purchase for R30,000, R40,000, and even R50,000, and then transfer and resell for R80,000-100,000. Stable Mafia groupings have in fact monopolized the buying up of motor vehicles and attendant commodities and are dictating prices on the black market.

Motor enthusiasts are well aware of the price of automobile spares, which they at times cannot get hold of for years. At the same time, however, criminal groups, as parasites, are living splendidly on this shortage. For example, at the present time, according to material of the Gorkiy security officers, the procuracy authorities have instituted yet more criminal proceedings against a group of major embezzlers who operated at the Gorkiy Auto Works. An investigation is underway of whose results the public will subsequently be notified.

Information available in the KGB testifies that a steady trend toward a growth in the number of offenses in the system of foreign economic activity of cooperative and state-owned enterprises and joint ventures with foreign companies, particularly at the time of barter deals, has emerged in recent years. Approximately 14,000 enterprises and organizations now have the right of outlet onto the foreign market. Unlawful actions in this channel are expressed in various violations of currency and finance rules and prescriptive enactments, crimes of office, smuggling, profiteering, and so forth.

A large quantity of freight deliberately declared with a downgraded rating and quality was impounded at the border in connection with attempted illegal conveyance out of the USSR in 1989-1990: a freight car with copper and bronze pipes weighing 62 tons registered by a Moscow cooperative as scrap; 120 tons of copper wire being taken out by the "Zapsibinvest" Soviet-West German joint venture as electrical engineering copper waste; 11 truckloads of aluminum castings bought up by the "Khoros" Soviet-Swedish joint venture from the Kashira "Tsentrolit" plant; three tankers with exportable fuel oil registered as petroleum waste; and so forth.

An attempt was made in the guise of contract freight to bring into the Soviet Union in contraband fashion more than 22,000 VCR's worth a sum total of approximately R150 million.

In conjunction with the customs offices Belorussia's state security authorities uncovered and confiscated in 1989 items of contraband worth a total of R14.9 million, and in the first six months of the current year R15 million. All this is much more expensive on the black market. Gold and gold items constitute 70 percent of what is confiscated upon departure. There is a growth also in the conveyance overseas of foreign currency and Soviet banknotes.

A general trend toward an increase in contraband, of which the KGB authorities are constantly notifying readers in the press, is being observed. The scale of this is growing through the increase in the actual instances of the unlawful movement of goods and valuables across the border, the increase in the price of the objects of unlawful transactions, and the prevalence of organized forms. Specialists estimate that criminals' annual income from smuggling activity amounts to R10-15 billion.

Drug addiction, which is growing in the country, and the narcotics business connected with it present an alarming picture. We now have on the register 120,000 persons who use narcotic substances. Unfortunately this is far from the full picture. Unofficial data testify that the volume of the physical consumption of narcotics has grown considerably and that the extent of the annual turnover of the drug business is of the order of R14 billion. This amount was appreciably low quite recently even. However, the growth in the number of users is a poison, and the even sharper rise in prices and the expanded opportunities for bringing narcotics into the Soviet Union have brought the drug trade to this level. Of course, our scale cannot as yet in any way be compared with the scale of activity of the Western drug mafia. Some $100 billion worth of narcotic substances were sold illegally in the United States, for example, in 1986; and according to an estimate of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, in 1989 this figure had risen to $110 billion. But such a comparison could be poor consolation inasmuch as the same experience of Western countries shows that the spiral of the spread of drug addiction unwinds with appalling strength if there are no well-considered, aggressive statewide and even international measures to combat this evil.

Nor has there been any diminution in the consumption of alcohol in the country. The anti-alcohol campaign made for a steep increase in the production of homebrew, whose value is put at R23 billion a year.

The payment for consumer services along amateur lines constitutes R14 to R16 billion. This part of the shadow economy testifies as clearly as could be to the unpropitious situation in the state-run sphere of consumer service.

The scale of cheating of the customers in trade and public catering by way of false measuring, giving short measure, short-changing, noncrediting, resorting, switching merchandise, and so forth remains appreciable at R10.7 billion. Defrauding clients and extortion on the part of offenders from housing and public utilities and consumer services constitute an annual sum of R2.6 billion. In the cooperative sector the sheltering of income from tax and the bribing of officials have become widespread. Rough estimates show them to amount to R2.4 billion.

Even the most approximate estimates show that the scale of the shadow economy is substantial and that it would be wrong to downplay it and underestimate the extent of the danger of this complex phenomenon at a pivotal stage of the development of our society.

It is important to know not only the picture of the shadow economy but also the rate of its development for the future. The most varied forecasts are being advanced. In the opinion of some experts, the annual increase in the shadow economy is within the R15 to R20 billion range. Even if there is a certain hypothetical aspect to this figure inasmuch as many economic processes develop latently, the mere fact of growth—which it is hard to refute—has to be taken into account in an objective appraisal of the country's economic situation.

The economic path of the elimination of the shadow economy is the development of controlled market relations. It is they that on a firm legal basis are designed to block manifestations of the shadow economy by economic methods and make it either unprofitable or profitable only in the channel of public interests. The development of the economic independence of the enterprises and leasing and other progressive forms of management are the material basis of the supplanting of the shadow economy. Under these conditions the participants in economic relations themselves will, by virtue of that same economic interest, watch to ensure that shadow manifestations of the economy not fetter the development of market relations. Only through a well-conceived system of economic, legal, and organizational measures may an appreciable narrowing of the sphere of the shadow economy be achieved.

Recently the country's Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet have adopted a number of important legislative instruments aimed at combating the shadow economy. The USSR Council of Ministers and its Presidium are paying much attention to the elaboration of effective measures of fighting this large-scale social phenomenon. But if things are viewed realistically, then of course the mere fact of the adoption of laws and decrees will not rid our society of the shadow economy. The more so in that it would be wrong to think that the entire problem can be solved by, say, the Council of Ministers alone. This is a task for the whole of our society and all its state, economic, and social structures.

A well-conceived system of the strict control of financial and economic activity, primarily in the sphere of the production and consumption of material goods, is needed within the framework of controlled market relations. Active use of the pricing lever is essential. The government must have the authority for this. There is a system of financial and economic control in Western countries which operates, and quite effectively, in respect of those who might be reluctant to come to terms with it. And what is more, the penalties for violations are very serious, up to and including the guilty party's criminal liability.

An effective system of control has yet to be created with us, on the other hand. In addition, instead of the creation of such a system, supervisory authorities are being abolished altogether in places. It is perfectly obvious that there are forces which this suits. However, such a situation cannot suit the working people.

An important part is played by prescribed enactments of the president of the USSR. Under the conditions of market relations, many of them are geared to the stabilization of the economic situation in the country and a tightening of the control of production and distribution processes. But it is even more important to strive for the unswerving fulfillment of presidential orders and increased responsibility for their execution.

Control of the development of the economic sphere presupposes the extensive participation of the working masses. Securing effective control without reliance on the public is simply impossible.

The mass media are called on to play their part in the struggle against the shadow economy. The molding of public opinion in a spirit of implacability toward the criminal activity of the smart operators of the shadow economy will depend on them to no small extent.

It may be expected that the fundamental restructuring of property relations, given strict state and public control, might undermine the material basis of the shadow economy and reduce its negative influence on people's life. The smart operators of the shadow economy are aware of this of course, whence their unusual dispatch in the realization of everything that contributes to the consolidation and preservation of the shadow economy and assurance of its rear support and cover: the use of "legal loopholes" in the economic mechanism and criminal legislation; the pushing "upward" of the right people, penetration of joint ventures; the establishment of "business" relations with the international Mafia; and so forth.

There is a great deal of work to be done in all areas, including by the law enforcement authorities. Everyone knows that in the accomplishment of the tasks confronting us we have attached great significance to the awareness factor and the personal conscientiousness of each citizen. At the same time respect for the law and unswerving compliance with it by everyone, regardless of office and position in society, has for some reason or other begun to recede into the background in our country. The more so in that the role of legal regulators is growing more than ever under the conditions of the transition to new economic relations.

The measures adopted by the law enforcement authorities in the fight against the criminal shadow economy are as yet manifestly inadequate. It can be seen from everything that this is complex and long-term work. It would be wrong to look for a quick success here: the stereotypes of the old economic relations are too strong and the resistance of those who are accustomed to living as parasites and obtaining big shadow profits is great. This makes it incumbent upon us to take a large-scale view, from state-minded positions, of the work of all law enforcement authorities. It cannot be ruled out that an in-depth analysis will lead us to a number of constructive solutions, including a reallocation of functions, the elaboration of new action strategy and tactics, a strengthening of legal foundations, an increase in the degree of hardware provision, qualitative changes in personnel training, and so forth.

Evaluating the situation soberly, employees of the USSR KGB see also their own shortcomings in the fight against such an integral part of the shadow economy as organized crime, which requires the mobilization of all efforts of the security officers, aggressive tactics, new nontraditional approaches in work, and the increased efficiency of the interaction with other law enforcement authorities. The mission of the law enforcement authorities together with other economic and state-run establishments and organizations is to strive for unswerving compliance with rules of law and to respond more keenly to all instances of deviations from the law. Only in this case will a sure barrier be erected in the way of those who like to profit from public property and the smart operators of the shadow economy.

Agricultural

Association Processes Poultry Feed From Algae

PM2208143090 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Report by V. Stepanov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Stepanov] A year ago I.I. Vasilyeva, a Yakut scientist, defended her thesis for a doctorate in biological sciences—on the utilization of algae as feed for poultry and livestock under the conditions of the far north—before Professor V.M. Shelar, doctor of sciences and head of the Moldova University's Botany Department. This was quite logical since Moldavian scientists have been studying this question for a long time with good results. Vasilyeva got her doctorate. But that is not the main point. The main thing is that her long and painstaking research was not relegated to the archives but was immediately applied.

The leadership of the Yakutptitseprom Association set about applying Dr. Vasilyeva's idea. With the active assistance of her Moldavian colleagues, of course, an algae processing installation has gone into operation.

Why did the Yakut poultry breeders set about applying the scientists' findings with such determination?

[I.I. Afanasyev, director general of the Yakutptitseprom Association] In recent years emphasis has been placed on quantity alone, nothing but quantity. Quality has been completely forgotten in recent years. This is why we started looking at all this science, at foreign experience at first and then at our own experience in Moldavia. Then we built the first installation, and the first installation immediately produced results. As soon as we fed the algae to the chickens, literally the following day the eggs turned all yellow as they used to be in the old days, and the taste also changed completely. We believe that this is only the beginning. I think that we are the first to do this in Siberia. We will proceed with poultry raising. There is also hog raising in our republic. We could supply the feed. And if other krays and oblasts show interest we will also help them. We firmly believe in this, we are simply convinced.

[Stepanov] Incidentally, Ivan Ivanovich, I heard that from the ecological viewpoint this method is also advantageous.

[Afanasyev] You are absolutely right. I am glad you mentioned this. Ours will be an ecologically clean product. That is exactly what we need. No more poisoning.

Leasehold Farms Show Improved Food Production

PM2308113490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Report by N. Chirkov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] Workers at the Belovskiy Rayon Consumer Cooperative Union have produced almost 250,000 rubles worth more food than last year. Our Kemerovo correspondent Nikolay Chirkov reports:

[Chirkov] Signs reading "Family Leasehold Farm" have appeared on many houses in the village of Ubinskiy. Until recently no one could have imagined this. They were glad if they could rear a hog or two and keep a cow. The situation regarding feed and pastures was difficult. Now the Vakarev family alone is rearing 15 hogs. You would think that Vladimir Dmitriyevich and Olga Fedorovna had enough to do. He is a driver and she works as a nursery school teacher. They have a large vegetable plot, a greenhouse, and they are trying to raise two sons. But no, they are obviously drawn to the land.

The rayon consumer cooperative union procurement workers did their bit. They talked to people, allocated young piglets to them free of charge, and provided them with feed and construction materials. People were also attracted by the fact that they may keep one-third of what they produce for themselves, or sell it at a profit to the consumer cooperative union itself. Procurement points have been opened in all the villages of the rayon. In this way, according to the estimates of the rayon consumer cooperative union, between 300 and 400 hogs will be fattened on family leasehold farms in the rayon as a whole. This means that there will also be a broader range of goods in the village stores.

They are producing their own smoked sausage and smoked meats in a unit bought in Yugoslavia. Recently a meat canning production line has gone into operation. A vegetable processing shop is also working at full capacity. They are trying to process as much vegetable and fruit produce as possible, including special Siberian delicacies. The shop produces 26 different types of goods. [passage omitted]

Scientific

Strategic Missile Designer Utkin Interviewed

PM2408155090 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Aug 90 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Twice Hero of Socialist Labor Academician V.F. Utkin, general designer and general director of "Yuzhnoye" Science and Production Association, by Col. M. Rebrov; place and date not given; published under the rubric "The Time Has Come to Tell": "The 'SS-24' and Others.... A Frank Conversation With the General Designer of Strategic Missile Complexes on a Formerly Classified Topic"—first three paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] The number of "classified" topics, closed doors, and secret installations in our life is declining with each passing year. We are learning more and more truths—open, unembellished, and at times harsh—about the "post office boxes," "science and production associations," and "test sites" which are components of the defense industry. Or, more precisely, of the Soviet military-industrial complex.

The names of talented engineers are also becoming public, with hints of their direct involvement in missile and space work. It is only fair that we should come to know in their lifetime and not afterwards the daring and the inquisitive, those distinguished by lofty professional courage, the committed and the passionate, those "protected from strangers' eyes and recognized on a strictly need-to-know basis."

Our correspondent's conversation today is with Twice Hero of Socialist Labor Academician Vladimir Fedorovich Utkin, winner of Lenin and USSR State Prizes and general designer and general director of "Yuzhnoye" Science and Production Association.

[Rebrov] Vladimir Fedorovich, it would be naive and even absurd to imagine that a general designer of combat missiles and space rockets has no secrets. But they are more in the sphere of military, scientific, technical, and to a certain extent political problems. Let us talk first about the human and moral factor....

[Utkin] I agree. But why did you pick me of all people as your interlocutor?

[Rebrov] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers, and not just they, are especially interested in the position and opinions of someone whose name is associated with the main achievements of the country's strategic nuclear forces. Moreover, they are also intrigued by the curtain of secrecy which has hung for years on end over the activity of the collective you head. But my first question is on a different topic. Much is being said today about war and peace, the "nuclear deterrence strategy," the destructive force of modern weapons, and "anachronistic strategic thinking...." But there are also ideas like duty and a scientist's moral choice, good and evil.... Where does the truth lie?

[Utkin] The quest for truth must also be conducted for the sake of man's well-being. It must be meaningful. And if these conditions are observed, the quest will never lead a scientist to a confrontation between morality and truth, to a loss of his personality's moral foundations. Truth as such cannot be either "moral" or "immoral." As a colleague of mine loves to say, a surgeon's scalpel cannot be good or evil. Only the man holding it can be good or evil. Truth in a scientist's hands must be a scalpel of good. Such is the philosopher's stone of life.... When you develop output on which the country's security depends, you feel first and foremost tremendously responsible to your compatriots.

[Rebrov] The "nuclear deterrence" policy, as it is known in the West, demands the quest for an opponent. I can imagine the military's opinions and position. How about the designer's thoughts and views...?

[Utkin] A tough question. It was not we who started the "cold war." I have no intention of listing the military bases which were targeted on us and whose number was steadily growing, as was incidentally the quantity of weapons deployed there. That was a serious threat. And we designers sought ways to create an equilibrium. Our designs had to be equally as good.... I recall the summer of 1966, the year when launches of combat ICBM's from silos were demonstrated before the French president for the first time in the history of Soviet-French relations. That was at Baykonur. Endless steppe burned by the sun. Silent and stifling. Time was dragging. Tension increased once the five-minute stand-by was announced. It was intensified by the countdown of the last few seconds over the loudspeakers. Finally "Launch!" The earth opened up at that moment, balls of fire, smoke, and dust shot up, and the missile's body emerged from that seething inferno. The roar gradually intensified, painfully hitting the eardrums. The mighty and terrifying vehicle was on its way to the accompaniment of the rocket boosters' triumphant roar....

General de Gaulle stood still on the observation platform, eyes riveted on the emotive spectacle, exclaiming: "Colossale! Colossale...!" Our interpreter, a major, stood next to him and mechanically repeated: "Colossal! Colossal...!" I thought to myself then: This is true, but it would be better if it never came to real combat launches...

[Rebrov] Could you please put in plain language the secret concealed by the words "Yuzhnoye" Science and Production Association?

[Utkin] Our firm comprises the "Yuzhnoye" Design Bureau, the "Yuzhnyy Mashinostroitelnyy Zavod" Production Association, the Machine Building Technology Scientific Research Institute....

[Rebrov] And your output?

[Utkin] It is associated with the Strategic Rocket Forces. We have developed and manufactured the majority of missiles on which the Soviet missile-space [raketno-kosmicheskiy] defensive shield is based. Our missiles have their own production code designators but appear in the U.S. classification list under the codes "SS-4" and "SS-9," being the old types of missiles, as well as "SS-18" and "SS-24" which are the latest....

[Rebrov] Within the narrow circle of specialists, your firm was initially known as "Yangel's" and now as "Utkin's." It does have a rich history.

[Utkin] Yes, and we are proud of this history. The design bureau and production base were set up at the height of the "cold war" when the United States and the NATO countries were trying to build their policy toward us from positions of strength. The plant was initially designed for motor vehicles, but.... At that complex time, back in 1954, the design bureau was headed by Mikhail Kuzmich Yangel. He has become a legend. His name and life have gone down for ever in the annals of the history of missile-space technology. Yangel was chief designer at the age of 43. Twice Hero of Socialist Labor and an academician, he died when his powers were at their height, full of ideas and plans, in 1971....

The collective's strength has always lain in its members. V.C. Budnik, L.V. Smirnov, A.M. Makarov, L.L. Yagdzhiyev, V.M. Kulchev.... It is hard to mention all the names. We worked in close contact with many of the sector's production associations, the USSR Academy of Sciences, military specialists.... We engendered a new form of collaboration between science and production. Here is just one example. The aviation industry had established the design bureau-experimental plant-series production structure. We reduced this chain: design bureau-experimental series plant. This is cheaper and more flexible, and it also has other advantages.

Despite the fact that the prestige of defense industry workers is now declining, it must be said that this equipment is made by the hands of a thousands-strong collective of workers, technicians, designers, and scientists with top qualifications.

[Rebrov] You became head of the collective in 1971 and, it must be said, the firm's glory is as great as ever. Vladimir Fedorovich, could we have a few more details about the specialized work done by "Yuzhnoye" Science and Production Association?

[Utkin] Over the last 35 years and more, we developed four generations of strategic missile complexes ensuring parity between the fatherland's nuclear missile forces and the corresponding U.S. forces.... In the space equipment sphere, we developed more than 50 types of satellites for military and scientific purposes. A total of more than 300 spacecraft have been placed in orbit at different altitudes. Add to this also several types of delivery vehicles.

[Rebrov] Which development in the last few years would you describe as the most interesting?

[Utkin] We have a demanding and strict client, meaning the military department, but the specific work of large design collectives is like all the work done by development and design workers—there are no uninteresting topics. I must admit, it is very hard to do an uninteresting job well. It is just uninteresting. This says it all. I would use a different term—significant, important.

I would describe as such the development and bringing into service of a new class of fourth-generation missiles in response to the development of the so-called MX missile by the Americans. Our highly efficient solid-fuel missile is designated by the code "SS-24" in foreign classification lists. It is not only silo-launched, but a mobile variety has been developed with missiles and the entire launch installation deployed on trains. Whenever necessary these trains can vary their location, which makes them less vulnerable to retaliatory strikes. I emphasize this.

It is also worth noting the high specification of the heavy missile known abroad as the "SS-18." There is nothing like it in the United States. At this point, however, I would like to make one stipulation: Our work has always been and is being done under strict observance of the SALT II Treaty.

[Rebrov] Vladimir Fedorovich, I read in the U.S. journal MILITARY TECHNOLOGY the following appraisal of the "SS-18," which by the way has been dubbed "Satan" in the West. This missile "is one of the largest and most highly efficient strategic systems representing a most brilliant achievement by Soviet military technology."

[Utkin] I also read this. Furthermore, the Americans believe that we will be able to maintain our nuclear missile potential at the proper level even if the treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons is signed.

[Rebrov] Let us leave politics aside for a while, we will come back to it later. What is the general designer's strategy?

[Utkin] Strategy...? It is the way to arrive at alternative scientific and technical solutions involving minimal expenditure in response to the deployment of corresponding categories of arms by the potential opponent. Such an approach makes it possible to cut down the time consumed and avoid what is known as trial and error. It was this path that produced what I consider the original and nontraditional solutions which determine our missiles' specifications today. Let me be more specific: I mean the creation [sozdaniye] of orbital multiple reentry vehicles, the development [razrabotka] of a unique mortar-type launcher for missiles from silos, the solution of the package of scientific and technical problems ensuring uninterrupted combat alert standby status for fully-fueled liquid-fuel missiles over a period of several years, and the package of constructive solutions ensuring missile resistance to a nuclear explosion's strike factors.

At this point I would nonetheless like to revert to political assessments. Strange though it may seem, by enhancing the efficiency of strategic forces we laid the foundations for slowing down the pace of the arms race and for building down entire categories of weapons. Thus, the creation [sozdaniye] of multiple reentry vehicles and of systems to overcome the opponent's ABM defense provided the technical basis for the U.S. side's build-down of programs to develop the "Safeguard" ground-based ABM echelon and the conclusion of the 1972 ABM Treaty whose importance is hard to overestimate.

[Rebrov] Unfortunately, it failed to solve all the problems. Moreover, in today's conditions, the U.S. side is pushing us toward shifting the arms race into space. This would require colossal economic expenditures.

[Utkin] I agree. I recently read Matthew Evangelista's book "Innovation and the Arms Race. How the United States and the Soviet Union Develop New Military Technology." The author has an interesting idea: "The United States has constantly fallen victim to the so-called 'last step' self-deception." In other words, at each stage of the race the United States calculated that this time the Soviet Union would probably fail to match it. The U.S. leadership must realize, Evangelista writes, that the U.S. technological advantages are not everlasting and will not offer security guarantees. This is what they themselves say.

I would also like to emphasize the following idea. Let us recall the not-so-distant past, when the "cold war" threatened to become "hot." One could cite a multitude of facts confirming the heating of international tension. I repeat, it was part of our duty to find an active countermeasure at each round of the arms race. The accumulated experience gives reasons to hope that we will succeed in countering the SDI program with a package of measures sharply reducing its effectiveness. This is the law of action and reaction, and I assume that this is realized by people abroad who are calling on the United States to refrain from extending the arms race to space so as to prevent any disruption of the recently emerged dynamics of transition to a nuclear-free world.

[Rebrov] Vladimir Fedorovich, since your "output" ensured and still ensures parity, it is natural to ask about the role played by missiles during the 1962 Caribbean crisis.

[Utkin] They were in Cuba at the time. We—the makers of strategic missile complexes—learned a special lesson from the crisis. A lesson in civic responsibility, of awareness of all the complexities of the moral aspect of the process of creating arms. Each one of us designers sensed more acutely at the time the fact that he bears responsibility not only for his own people's future but also for the world community's future. Actually, this was realized not just by designers, and not just by our side either. This is what I assume.

[Rebrov] Many readers are perturbed by this question: What is the price we have to pay for the constant confrontation and the efforts to ensure parity?

[Utkin] The implementation of military programs has swallowed tens of billions of rubles and has diverted funds from the needs of health care, science, culture.... The best specialists, scientists, designers, and workers with top qualifications were sidetracked into defense development and research. The burden of the arms race did have a certain effect on our country's economy as a whole. But no matter how paradoxical this might sound, we defense industry workers are aware better than anyone else of the importance of every single ruble diverted from the needs of social development.

Do not be in a hurry to interrupt me; I will explain at once. Our collective, at the very start of its existence, adopted an approach toward work which ensures the parallel utilization of scientific and technical developments in the interests of science and the national economy. Today we have achieved a technical standard whereby the majority of materials technology problems, and the technological and other scientific and technical problems associated with the creation of combat missile complexes, can be directly applied in industry as a whole. The problem is not to freeze but to utilize our scientific and engineering advances rationally and swiftly, without any bureaucratic red tape. I would make so bold as to describe them as not just innovative but actually revolutionary. Therefore, today it is legitimate and necessary to speak about the possibility of developing and creating prototype weapons with parallel and simultaneous satisfaction of the national economy's targeted tasks—new materials and technologies, new design solutions, new methodologies, and so on—and absorption of a sizeable proportion of costs through the national economy. Such experience already exists.

[Rebrov] Could you be more specific, could you give examples?

[Utkin] Let me begin with the fact that the "Kosmos" delivery system was created way back in the sixties on the basis of the "SS-4" continental ballistic missile. Later on our science and production association used the "SS-9" combat vehicle as a basis for developing the "Tsiklon" delivery vehicle. Some 12 years ago we proposed developing a delivery vehicle based on ecologically clean types of fuel. The "Zenit" delivery vehicle is in use at present. It uses liquid oxygen and kerosene. Its main specific feature is the fully automated launch. There are no people at the launch pad. The rocket is capable of placing in orbit 12 tonnes of payload, including manned craft. The first stage of this rocket is used as booster units—strap-on boosters for "Energiya."

What else? In parallel with the combat missiles' utilization for peaceful purposes, we developed an entire family of "Cosmos" satellites which make up approximately one-fourth of the total number of spacecraft in this series. The launch of the "Intercosmos-1" craft was a memorable event in the peaceful exploration of space. That was in October 1964. The first "Intercosmos" marked the beginning of an era of joint exploration of near-earth space by our own and other interested states' academies of sciences. There were 24 craft of this series launched in the past, and 21 of them were developed at "Yuzhnoye" Science and Production Association. We developed "Aureole-1," "Aureole-2," and "Arcad" jointly with French specialists. The "Aryabhata," "Bhaskara-1," and "Bhaskara-2" satellites were placed in orbit in collaboration with India....

An example of solving major national economic problems is offered by, say, "Cosmos-1500." This satellite played a part in the saga of extricating convoys of ships which were ice-bound in the East Siberian Sea. Thanks to radar surveys which were carried out during the polar night in condition of heavy cloud cover, we were able to map out the best route to be followed by the convoys out of the ice. Hundreds of millions of rubles were saved. "Cosmos-1500" was the precursor of the now famous "Okean" satellite series which help seamen resolve navigational tasks.

The "Yuzhnoye" Science and Production Association is currently working on the creation of a new spacecraft which is intended to be used in three international projects for a comprehensive study of the Sun and the Sun-earth links. Several European countries and India will participate in the implementation of these projects. U.S. and Japanese specialists intend to conduct concurrent observations. Maybe other countries as well....

[Rebrov] As far as I know, the "Yuzhnoye" Science and Production Association is involved not just in missile-space projects.

[Utkin] This is correct.... For many years now our collective has been developing and producing the "YuMZ" wheeled tractor-cultivators. The 2 millionth tractor will roll off the lines in the very near future. Our vehicles account for one-third of the annual all-Union production of wheeled tractor-cultivators. The science and production association's designers have developed a total of 10 modifications for "YuMZ" tractors.

Pursuing the idea of the defense industry's conversion, let me say this: The science and production association is developing high-capacity wind-driven power generation installations. The first prototype was installed and started undergoing trials a month ago. A package of hardware is being developed for the oil and fats industry. An emulsifier—a device to extract solid dust particles from smoke gases released by heat and electric power stations—was created to solve ecological problems. This output is in demand in the country.

We have offered to enterprises in our own region and elsewhere our services for testing their output. The unique opportunities offered by our experimental base and our staffers' qualifications could enable the science and production association to become nationally and internationally recognized as a certification trial center for many categories of the most diverse output. If only we had items to certify!

[Rebrov] And so, the Dnepropetrovsk creators of missile-space systems perceive conversion not formally but substantively. How do you appraise the present state of affairs as regards the spread of conversion?

[Utkin] Unsatisfactory. Our position is based on many years of experience in conversion matters. In my view, and in order to remedy the currently prevailing situation, it is first of all necessary to retain the specialized collectives which created the strategic complexes that enabled us to achieve parity with the United States. Second, it is necessaryt to ensure maximum access to world markets for defense industry enterprise with science-intensive—I emphasize this—output based on the strategic complexes they have developed, the use of delivery vehicles to launch foreign firms' spacecraft, joint development of spacecraft, and so on. Third, it is necessary to ensure widespread introduction of the achievements by missile-space technology in the national economy. Only the implementation of these points could give us confidence that our civic stance, our civic duty to the country and the world community will not be breached. Specific deeds are needed.

[Rebrov] Vladimir Fedorovich, here we are back to general political problems. Being the general designer and leader of a large production association, you are at the same time a member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and a people's deputy to the country's supreme organ. Your views on perestroyka?

[Utkin] I am in favor of pluralism of opinions right up to multiparty system subject to observance of a rule-of-law state's laws. One often hears it asked today: "Who is to blame?" As a Communist who was admitted to the party on the frontline during the harsh years of the Great Patriotic War, I can say this: The only right we had [at that time] was to be the first to rush into attack; people paid for the Fatherland's freedom and independence with their own lives. Why blame them? But as a Communist of 46 years' standing, I cannot evade my own share of responsibility for the fate of the CPSU and its role in society.

[Rebrov] How about your practical participation in the USSR Supreme Soviet's work and your appraisal of what is happening?

[Utkin] I am on the Committee for Defense and State Security Questions. Numerous questions have to be resolved. I think that it is necessary to achieve the adoption of the Law on Planning and on Ensuring Conversion on a Statewide Level, at Local Level, and at Enterprise Level, and on assistance for working people who might lose their jobs as a consequence of conversion. Care must be shown for people's future.

What worries me as deputy and as general designer? Many people perceive disarmament as "zero arms," forgetting that reality is such that we must think of the state's protection. This task will remain with us for a long time to come. I am also worried about the Union's future. Our defense system is multinational. The scientific potential, including the defense sphere, is also multinational. Unique technical systems and technologies have been developed through the republics' cooperation. The Union's destruction will not only inflict tremendous losses in culture but will also have an effect on the country's production potential and on science. Major work cannot be done single-handed.

[Rebrov] A few words about perestroyka in science? Numerous problems have accumulated there as well.

[Utkin] I would like to dwell on two aspects. First, the reorganization of our missile-space science. Now it is built on the principle of fundamental scientific research at academic and education establishments, sectorial science in sectorial scientific research institutes, and experimental-applied science at industrial enterprises. Over the decades of solving applied tasks, the industrial enterprises' scientific collectives have gained strong positions and their scientific potential is superior to that of sectorial institutes. But sectorial institutes are the arbiters of fashion because they are at the summit of the administrative-ministerial pyramid and hold the purse strings....

I therefore fully support the proposal by some of our scientists that it is necessary to revert to the classical structure of science (as it is done in the developed capitalist countries): Academic scientific research institutes and higher education establishments should develop fundamental science, while experimental-applied science should be developed at science and production association, production associations, and sectorial scientific research institutes. The tasks of controlling functions by scientific research institutes should be reviewed during the implementation of reform in missile-space science. Quite a powerful scientific potential has been concentrated there, but the efficiency of its utilization could be considerably greater if their controlling functions were reduced.

And one more point. I believe that our long-term program for the development of missile-space technology must be profoundly reworked from the viewpoint of both priority avenues and economic effect.

[Rebrov] What do you think, has your civic stand undergone hard trials in the recent past?

[Utkin] I recently visited Cuba as member of a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation. I recalled 1962, the Caribbean crisis, and the role played by our missiles in it. That was 28 years ago. And the Cubans are once more saying: We rely on you, don't let us down. There is some food for thought. How to help the Cuban comrades, and not just them? Attitudes toward our friends represent a special facet of the "philosopher's stone." Shall we concentrate only on ourselves, on our own personal problems? Or shall we seek a way out of the present crisis not only for ourselves but also for our friends with due consideration for the world community? After all, the path we take will determine the future not only of our country but also of the planet.

[Rebrov] The press recently carried a report about the Soviet Union's intention to present an "SS-4" missile to one of Cuba's museums. This caused alarm in the United States. Some foreign figures assume that it could be fitted with a warhead.

[Utkin] Such opinions are a joke. Obviously, the old thinking still holds sway with some people.

[Rebrov] Vladimir Fedorovich, we were taught for a long time that the work of chief and general designers always runs smoothly, and each TASS report includes the standard sentence "All systems are functioning normally." Is this really so?

[Utkin] Not quite so, in fact not at all so. There have been failures, mistakes, and accidents, there have also been "black days" when human lives were lost. I experience pain and grief on 24 October each year. It was on that day in 1960 that an explosion occurred on the launch pad while an ICBM we had developed was being prepared for its first launch. That was when Marshal Nedelin and other comrades were killed. Parity had to be paid for with human lives....

But one ought not to think that wreckage and failure pursue us each day and each year. Before a complex is submitted to the State Commission, it goes through numerous stages of "in-house" trials. They are the general designer's responsibility. This is probably why my comrades, colleagues, and friends lost their lives so early.

[Rebrov] And one last question. I recall your statement about the "philosopher's stone of disarmament" which, once accepted by us, will enable us to preserve our home, society, and planet. Should we forget about the sufficiency of our defense when elaborating proposals on foreign peace initiatives?

[Utkin] No, of course not. But let us add the qualifier "reasonable" to the word "sufficiency."

[Rebrov] I agree. Thank you for the frank conversation.

[Utkin] I thank you, too; I am one of your readers.

Cosmonauts Proceed With Experiments Aboard Mir

LD2508005490 Moscow TASS in English 1804 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—Friday, August 24, can rightly be described as a day of technological experiments aboard the Soviet scientific-research orbital complex Mir. The seventh resident crew of Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov have been working aboard the station for three weeks.

The cosmonauts today went ahead with smelting on the Krater-B plant, begun on Thursday, under the space material studies program. The smelting will last for 260 hours. As a result, the cosmonauts will obtain, in extreme conditions of the space laboratory, zinc oxide, a semiconducting material of great value for the radio electronic industry.

Also today the cosmonauts got down to growing the monocrystal of gallium arsenide, another semiconductor, on the gallar plant. Gallar is an abbreviation of the words gallium and arsenide. It will also be a long process which will take 240 hours.

Specialists believe that space technology is very promising. They estimated that its application promises an economic effect of 400-800 million rubles a year.

The range of the scientific-research work is being dramatically expanded once the technological module Kristal, which specialists describe as a microplant to produce crystals in zero-gravity, was attached to the Mir orbital complex.

Experimental laboratories of the USSR Ministry of the Electronic Industry already have samples of equipment, specifically a laser picture tube which was developed using the monocrytal cadmium sulphide which was obtained in space and by its technical characteristics has no analogues on earth.

Baltic Republics

RSFSR Parliamentarians Arrive in Vilnius

LD2408214790 Moscow TASS in English 2027 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius August 24 TASS—A delegation of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet arrived here today. The delegation is led by Aleksandr Granberg, chairman of the Committee on Inter-Republican Relations, Regional Policy and Cooperation.

Vice-President of the Lithuanian parliament Ceslovas Stankevicius said that during their working meeting, representatives of the Lithuanian and Russian parliaments discussed a draft of the future political document, a joint declaration of the principles of legal and political relations.

The head of the Russian Federation's delegation said that the delegation arrived in Lithuania to promote the establishment of good-neighbourly relations between the two sovereign states.

The negotiations of delegations of Lithuania and Russia were held in Vilnius several weeks ago. The delegations were headed then by Prime Minister of the Lithuanian Republic Kazimiera Prunskiene and Chairman of the Russian Federation's Council of Ministers Ivan Silayev.

An agreement on commercial and economic relations between the Lithuanian Republic and the Russian Federation for 1991 was concluded as a result of the talks.

The visit of another delegation shows that relations between Lithuania and Russia are rapidly developing.

The delegation of the Russian parliament leaves for Tallinn tomorrow.

RSFSR, Lithuania To Prepare Joint Document

LD2508103890 Moscow TASS in English 0859 GMT 25 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscilla]

[Text] Vilnius August 25 TASS—Lithuanian and Russian parliamentary delegations taking part in consultations on legal and political relations between the two republics agreed on Friday to prepare a joint political document that will serve as a basis for several bilateral agreements.

Late at night chief negotiators Ceslovas Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian parliament, and Aleksandr Granberg, member of the Russian parliament presidium, signed a joint statement on the outcome of the talks.

The sides discussed citizens' rights, reaching agreement on the issue, the document says.

It stresses joint desire to preserve and expand economic, trade and cultural ties between Lithuania and Russia.

Lithuanian and Russian parliamentarians agreed to continue bilateral consultations. The next meeting will be held in Moscow.

A group of Russian lawmakers will leave today for similar consultations in Tallinn.

'One European Road' Event Ends in Lithuania

LD2408221190 Moscow TASS in English 2108 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Vilnius August 24 TASS—The main events of the "One European Road" action, organised by the Sajudis Lithuanian National Movement, drew to an end in Lithuania today.

They were held near the Lazdijai customs house in the south of the republic, in immediate proximity to the Soviet-Polish state border. Two tent camps were set up on both sides of the border, in which Lithuanians, people from several other Soviet republics and East European countries gathered.

Provacative actions, to which some extremist-minded figures from the Sajudis called, were avoided by the joint efforts of border and customs services, public organisations and movements.

Border authorities in the USSR and Poland eased travel restrictions and people passed across the state border in an orderly manner and only in the designated place.

The Lithuanian camp was closed at noon. A "European evening party" is scheduled to be held in Vilnius on Saturday [25 August]. The week of discussions involving politicians and scientists, organised as part of the "One European Road" action, will take place in Lithuania's Moletskij District on August 26-30.

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Warsaw August 24 TASS - Slightly more than 500 residents of Lithuania and about 1,200 Poles have walked to either side of the Polish-Soviet border, on the section between Ogrodniki and Lazdijai, over the two previous days.

The small number of visitors from the neighbouring countries is explained not by the snags of the border and customs authorities of the USSR and the Republic of Poland. The much publicised political event has been a setback because the Polish public did not show genuine intrest in the action, with the exception of ethnic Lithuanians living in neighbouring Suwalki Province.

They formed an organising committee and made up most of the paticipants in the "One European Road" action from the Polish side. There were few residents of Warsaw and other areas of Poland among those who arrived in Ogrodniki to take part in the event.

"Poles and Lithuanians have many prejudices with respect to each other and more than one generation will grow up before these prejudices are overcome," said Juzas Janonis, who represents the Sajudis organising committee in Ogrodniki. He sees the reason behind Poles' passivity in these prejudices. Jonas Staszelunas, 77, whose relatives live in Mariampol, Lithuania, 50 kilometers from the border, shares this view.

Anna Markevich, an elderly peasant woman who speaks Lithuanian better than Polish, admitted that now that her ancestral land is gaining independence, she intends to move to Lithuania for permanent residence.

The meetings were capped with a rally, involving residents of Lithuania, Poland, representatives of the German Democratic Republic, Norway, Czechoslovakia and other countries.

Pro-CPSU Lithuanian Communists Decry Protests

Statement Urges 'Refrain'

LD2508171490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1408 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Vilnius, 25 Aug (TASS)—The Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee and the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Citizens Committee have issued a statement in which they strongly protest to the republican authorities about the beating on 23 August of K. (Surblis) director of the Institute of Socio-Political Research of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee by an unruly mob. They demand that the culprits be brought strictly to account without delay.

The statement notes that "the campaign of abuse in Lithuania against supporters of a reinvigorated USSR, as well as the removal of memorials to V.I. Lenin and other participants in the revolutionary movement—actions in which the government connived—have greatly increased the confrontation between entire groups of the republic's population and this threatens to escalate into a civil conflict."

"We warn the republic's leadership," the document says, "that we will do all we can to protect the honor and dignity, rights, and liberties of Soviet citizens, and to protect memorials in Lithuania."

"At the same time the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) and the public organizations of the Lithuanian SSR Citizen's Committee consider that a further escalation of the confrontation in the republic should not be allowed to occur. At this difficult time we ask all political forces with an interest in the happiness and prosperity of Lithuania's people to refrain from declarations and actions that increase tension, social conflict, and national discord in the republic."

Calls Protests 'Intolerable'

LD2708121290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] The LCP [Lithuanian Communist Party]—CPSU and the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Citizen's Committee regard further escalation of the confrontation in the republic as intolerable.

This view was expressed in their statement calling on all political forces in the republic to refrain from actions which increase tension. Events in Lithuania, the statement says, prove the republic's present leadership is trying to distract society's attention from social, economic, and political problems, which are worsening to an extreme degree, and from the flouted democratic freedoms and rights of citizens. The document recalls that the republic's Supreme Soviet chairman announced in spring, without any grounds, preparations for the seizure of the Supreme Soviet building. Such statements are dangerous since the defamation campaign that has developed in Lithuania against the proponents of a renewed USSR and the actions to dismantle statues of Lenin, done with the knowledge of the government, has sharply escalated confrontation between whole groups of the republic's population, threatening civil conflict.

The LCP Central Committee and the citizen's committee cite the attack on the director of the Institute of Social and Political Research of the LCP—CPSU Central Committee, Professor (Surblis), protesting this matter and demanding those guilty be brought strictly to account immediately. At the same time, the statement says, we warn the republic's leadership that we will take all measures to defend the honor and dignity of the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens and to preserve monuments in Lithuania.

Lithuanian Press Comments on USSR Talks

90UN2626B Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 1 Aug 90 p 3

[From the "Digest: The Lithuanian Press" column compiled by A. Petraytis: "From ATGIMIMAS"]

[Text] The reports on the progress of the commission to prepare for negotiations between Lithuania and the Union are so stingy that they offer a wide field for the suppositions and guesses of "home-grown" analysts. We hear more than enough of them at work, on the bus, at the market, and at noisy tables... A serious commentator undertaking an analysis and prediction would not permit himself a flight of fancy even with a shortage of information. His job is to back up his conclusions and base them on reality. Political parallels which are close to the situation and to the sequence of the development of events suggest certain thoughts to some. To some degree they also served as arguments for Audrius Siaurusiavicius, whose article about the upcoming Vilnius-Moscow dialogue was published in full in issue No. 29 of the weekly ATGIMIMAS.

"Still to come are the negotiations. Last Friday (20 July—editor's note) the prime minister of Lithuania met once more with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. After the meeting the prime minister of Lithuania declared to journalists that the USSR is ready to begin negotiations with Lithuania immediately.

"Being in Moscow, I also heard opinions to the effect that Lithuania would be set free, but it would be under such conditions that the others would lose the desire to secede. There is only one way to verify the truth of these suppositions—to begin negotiations. However the Supreme Council of Lithuania is not in a hurry. It is preparing itself. Even though it should have been prepared on 11 March, if not sooner. Such a tactic evokes various questions, especially if one remembers the repeated appeals by the Supreme Council to begin negotiations. It seems that the ruling myth in the first days of the declaration of independence to the effect that 'the West will help us,' is being replaced by another—'we will negotiate with Russia.' Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of Lithuania, said, 'It may happen that Russia will be a more realistic object of negotiations than the Soviet Union.' The Germans thought otherwise. For a long time the Soviet Union opposed a sovereign Germany's membership in NATO. But H. Kohl did not stop to wonder who would be a possible subject of negotiations. He negotiated with the real power—the Soviet Union. And they came to agreement, it is true, after throwing in 5 billion German marks."

(...)

"The Supreme Council of Lithuania as a whole and its individual members have a habit of mistaking what they desire for what is real. I hope the respected Deputy Rita Gajauskaitis will forgive me, but her opinion, published in the state newspaper, that 'the membership of the delegation proposed by the Union shows that its only jurisdiction is over economics' cannot be taken seriously. When was the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB, and the General Staff of the Armed Forces over economic questions? The members of the delegation for negotiations with Lithuania are representatives of these particular departments. It is also highly probably that this delegation has jurisdiction over questions of state borders, because it includes the chairman of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers."

Lithuanian Supreme Council's Power Examined

90UN2689A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 2 Aug 90 p 2

["Appeal to the people of Lithuania" originally published 31 July in the newspaper RESPUBLIKA and on 1 August in TIYESA; under the rubric "At Readers' Request": ""We Are All Responsible...""]

[Text] **Many readers phoned our editorial office yesterday wanting to know what appeal to the people of Lithuania was being referred to on 31 July by the "Vremya" program and in the address of Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman V. Landsbergis over republic television.**

This appeal was published on 31 July in the newspaper RESPUBLIKA and was signed by J. Marcinkevicius, R. Gudaitis, A. Juozaitis, E. Vilkas, V. Statulevicius, A. Sileika, V. Martinkus, C. Kudaba, A. Maldonis, M. Visakavicius, M. Martinaitis, A. Slegeris, B. Genzelis, V. Jasukaityte, I. Minkevicius, A. Pakalnis, J. Bulavas, V. Baublis, N. Medvedev, and L. Jucas.

In publishing the appeal on 1 August, the newspaper TIYESA reported that the following individuals also signed it: K. Antanavicius, V. Antanaitis, I. Kostkeviciute, M. Mickis, G. Ramonas, V. Pikturna, S. Razma, M. Askeloviciute, Alg. Marcinkevicius, I. Kubilius, and R. Pavilionis.

The appeal states:

"With a sacred song to Lithuania we set out on our march for independence. We were sufficiently united, we confided in one another, and we reached accord—thus came the dawn of 11 March.

"The act on restoration of the independent Lithuanian Republic is not only a joy and a hope, it is a tremendous responsibility as well. Independence does not confirm itself in life of its own accord and does not bestow freedom. Not dictatorship nor totalitarianism, not the cult of power nor the sprouts of Bolshevism disappear by themselves. All of us are responsible for the journey of civilized, democratic Lithuania to the community of the peoples of Europe and the entire world.

"Still, we are at a crossroads. Unfortunately, not all of us are choosing democracy, legality, truth, decency, and mutual respect. Clearly we already see manifest a striving for swift personal well-being, premature glory and laurels. 'Feedbags' of power, sacks of money, mafia cobwebs, 'hunting horns' in the hunt for 'witches' and enemies black banners of economic and political chaos have never been and can never be symbols of freedom. No matter what tune a political party plays, no matter what kind of party it is, it must be concerned with individual freedom, order, and principles of democracy.

"All Lithuania continues to watch the Supreme Council, awaiting decisions and political wisdom. More and more frequently, unfortunately, we are observing something different. From the very outset of its functioning, the Supreme Council, the legislative power, has gradually expanded the boundaries of its authority. It has intolerably, even destructively, been restricting and undermining the activity of the executive power, the Council of Ministers. Mistrust, suspicion, petty, unconstructive and excessive criticism of the government do not help and will not help resolve our most pressing political problems. In democratic states, with which we should equate ourselves, legislative power does not impede the functioning of executive power.

"The majority of the working citizens of Lithuania, not yielding to clamorous one-day politics, does not doubt the necessity of negotiations with the Soviet Union. Certain layers of society, and even Supreme Council deputies, cause us anxiety when they look for pretexts to drag out the beginning of negotiations, or even not begin them at all. It is evident that this only increases confusion and chaos. States sympathizing with Lithuania are awaiting the outset and results of negotiations; our international recognition will depend on this.

"Inconsistent lawmaking is impeding to a great extent the fruitful work of the Supreme Council. The fact that to this day there is no law on recalling deputies can in no way be justified. Such a law should have been one of the first to be adopted. On the other hand, certain laws are passed hurriedly, and this may play a fateful role in Lithuania's path to freedom and democracy. One of these is the provisional Law on Duty in Protecting the Land. It is frustrating that almost all new laws are adopted, as before, without taking public opinion into account.

"The political responsibility of the Supreme Council, the Council of Ministers, parties, groups of citizens, and individuals is not the same. All this prompts us to regard the present stage of confirmation of independence as a dramatic moment in achieving our general and individual self-determination. We are in favor of the comprehensive, well thought-out, moderate accomplishment of economic and social reforms, finding support in the strength of morality and trust.

"How successfully this will be carried out will depend on when you—citizens of the Lithuanian Republic—express your will. The time has come to elect a regenerative seim and entrust to it the foundation of a democratic Lithuania."

Aftereffects of Economic Blockade on Lithuania

LD2508145990 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Report by Roma Pakeniene from Vilnius]

[Excerpts] The second month since Moscow lifted Lithuania's economic blockade is coming to an end. The country's economy is slowly recovering although the consequences of the blockade will be felt for several years. On the other hand, it is difficult to tell how we are going to live in the last months of this year and next year. The Lithuanian government is concerned that if the negotiations with the Soviet Union do not take place the latter may once again fail to deliver the most important raw materials to Lithuania. The uncertain political situation hinders the conclusion of economic agreements with the suppliers in the East both for the last quarter of this year and for next year.

Apart from that Lithuanian Vice Premier Algirdas Brazauskas speaking this week in parliament stated that next year Lithuania will not get important goods and raw materials imported by the Soviet Union. As is known, the Soviet Union does not have currency to pay foreign firms and therefore it is in an exceptionally difficult situation. This year Lithuania did not obtain and hitherto will not obtain many [words indistinct] imported from abroad.

Because of this work has been interrupted at Lithuania's light industry enterprises, especially at the Kaunas stocking factory, Kotonas. This enterprise failed to obtain kapron, the main raw material for manufacturing stockings. It ceased production at the end of April and is still not working. It used to obtain about 80 percent of its kapron from Switzerland, Belgium, Britain and Italy and only 20 percent from the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

According to Jonas Survila, department head at the Ministry of Industry, the Lithuanian light industry enterprises in the past obtained various imported raw materials from the Soviet Union and equipment roughly valued at 130 million dollars per year. Meanwhile Lithuania for its exported light industry products can receive only about 15 million dollars. Where could the currency come from next year? [passage omitted]

In seven months of this year Lithuania has failed to obtain nearly a half of the planned delivery of sawn timber from the Soviet Union. [passage omitted] Therefore timber processing and housing construction enterprises are frequently compelled to cease production.

Apart from this, some Russian suppliers are now demanding payment for raw materials at world prices and there are also enterprises which ask for hard currency. Of course this is natural but economic agreements are necessary for this and first of all with Russia. As is known, agreements between Lithuania and Russia will be signed next year.

Lithuanian Russians Show Desire for Resettlement

LD2608095390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Yext] Many Russian-speaking residents of Lithuania have expressed their wish to leave for permanent resettlement outside the boundaries of the republic, in particular to Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast. The executive committee of Leningrad Oblast Soviet announced that resettlement will be possible only if the Lithuanian Republic finds the resources to build housing for the migrants and does this by using the capacity of its own construction organizations.

Gorbunovs Proposes Talks in Letter to Gorbachev

LD2408182190 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1730 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] The permanent representation of the Latvian Council of Ministers in Moscow today sent to the USSR president an official letter by the Latvian Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs, in which it is proposed to start talks between the Republic of Latvia and the authorized representatives of the Soviet Union.

Latvian Central Committee Holds Plenum 25 Aug

LD2408223790 Moscow TASS in English 2208 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Riga August 25 TASS—Latvian Communists have set themselves the target of becoming a party of civil accord cooperating with various political forces for the sake of upholding human rights. They regard it as one of their priority tasks, which were analysed at a plenary meeting of the party Central Committee held here on Friday. Alfred Rubiks, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the plenary meeting. He made a report about the results of the 28th CPSU Congress and urgent measures to be taken on the basis of its resolutions.

Participants in the plenary meetintg discussed a draft programme of action and the Latvian Communist Party rules. Both documents will be submitted to a final session of the party's 25th congress. They define the status of the Latvian Communist Party as an independent political organisation developing relations with Communist Parties of Union republics and the Soviet Communist Party on the basis of common ideological positions and strategic objectives.

Rubiks Interviewed on Task Facing Latvia

LD2508064790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A plenum of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party has been held in Riga.

[Correspondent N. Meshkun] The participants in the plenum discussed the outcome of the 28th CPSU Congress and the tasks facing the republic's Communists in fulfilling the congress decision. They scrutinized the drafts of the new rules and the foundations of the Latvian Communist Party's program of action. A report was delivered by Alfred Petrovich Rubiks, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party. In the din of the battle for man we have, at times, lost many many people, often the best, and (?given priority) mainly to careerists, time-servers, paper leaders and yes men. Has a mechanism been worked out in the party rules to prevent any repeat of these mistakes?

[Rubiks] We have gone back to our roots, to what happened before. In other words, the primary party organizations, where people know each other well, resolve all the issue, including recommending their comrades for election to superior bodies and for appointment to serve in the apparatus of the various bodies. Without this, not a single decision will be made. Second, there are regular report-backs, regular accountability of those elected to the various bodies before their party organizations, to the extent that we secretaries of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party, just like all leaders, will be registered as party members in labor collectives. I personally in my constituency [words indistinct] deputy, and you know I like this and everyone likes it.

[Meshkun] How will the structure of the party's leading bodies be changed to make the Communists' organization more democratic and to ensure that there is no lofty hierarchy with inaccessible heights and that relations are more comradely?

[Rubiks] I think the one thing that caused the inaccessibility or certain leaders and their detachment from the party masses was the distortion...the cultivation and creation of an enormous party apparatus, which formed a barrier between Communists and their leaders, preventing direct contact. This has all been done away with now.

Negotiators Discuss RSFSR-Estonia Talks

LD2508203190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Negotiations began in Tallinn today between Estonia and Russia.

[Correspondent H. Lenk] The official delegation of Russia arrived in Tallinn this morning for this purpose. Negotiations on business ties between individual enterprises and towns of Russia and Estonia have been going on for over a month now, and all these have the same goal: to establish direct and permanent economic ties. Today, however, official negotiations began at the state level, too. [video shows delegations arriving, negotiations]

[Begin recording] [U. Nugis, head of Estonian delegation] The Estonian state was founded on 23 February 1918, and we would like the Russian side to recognize us from these very positions, taking account, too, of the Tartu Peace Treaty of 1920.

[A. Granberg, head of RSFSR delegation] Russia wants to have good neighbors and has an interest in cooperation with both large and small states. Citizens of nationalities widely represented in Russia also live here in Estonia, and we consider that by our treaty we should protect their rights. This is one of the topics of our negotiations. We are counting upon strengthening economic contacts and expanding cultural, scientific, and technical ties. All in all, the sphere of our negotiations is pretty broad. [end recording]

Estonia Suspends USSR Order on 'Integral'

904A0558A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 9 Aug 90 p 2

["Decree of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet: On the Suspension of the Application in the Republic of Estonia of USSR Council of Ministers Order No. 1045r of 2 July 1990"]

[Text] The Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. To suspend application in the Republic of Estonia of Order No. 1045r of the USSR Council of Ministers of 2 July 1990 concerning creation of the State Interbranch Association "Integral."

2. Proceeding from Article 10 of the Republic of Estonia Law "On the Foundations for a Temporary System of Administering Estonia," to acknowledge as illegal any activity of state organs, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and officials directed at implementing the order indicated in paragraph one of this decree, and to acknowledge as invalid the corresponding legal actions from the moment of their realization.

[Signed] A. Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet
[Dated] Tallinn, 7 August 1990

Estonian Party Discusses Relations With USSR

90UN2661B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 9 Aug 90 p 2

["Statement of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in connection with the impending discussion in the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet of relations between the USSR and the Republic of Estonia"]

[Text] In the last 18 months all documents of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee have emphasized that restoration of the statehood of the Republic of Estonia may be seen merely as a process, not a one-time political act or declaration. This process is inevitably connected with the dismantling of the USSR as a unitary state and the creation of a new system of mutual security in Europe. We must participate in these processes in close cooperation with the democratic forces of all the republics which are currently part of the USSR.

It is important here to see the dynamics of this process, determine its stages, establish the goals leading to real success and find for them the optimum means taking account of the interests of all parties.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau emphasizes once again that the restoration of independence must not lead to stagnation in our economy and make worse the already difficult interethnic relations in Estonia. We need mutually profitable economic relations with all parts of the USSR and the stability of intrastate policy, which will make us trustworthy partners in relations with foreign states.

There has been a fundamental change in the political situation in the USSR in the past month. The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the Ukraine have declared their independence, negotiations are beginning between the central authorities of the USSR and Lithuania, and a majority of Union republics is seeking the conversion of the USSR into a voluntary alliance of sovereign states based on a Union treaty. In this connection we must find the correct tactics of further action. In the present situation the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau deems necessary the following steps:

1. The urgent commencement of negotiations between the central authorities of the USSR and the Republic of Estonia without any prior conditions and the regulation of our relations by treaty for the years ahead.

At the first stage of the negotiations we need to seek a precise definition of Estonia's official status and a correct historical and political evaluation of the 1940 events on the part of the central authorities of the USSR. It would in this case be possible to conclude a treaty between the Republic of Estonia and the USSR as between two sovereign states. Estonia would take account here of the present political, economic, and military interests of the USSR. The USSR, in turn, would undertake to seek recognition of the Republic of Estonia as an independent subject of international law at the international level.

2. Complete trust in the chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet and support for his activity in the USSR Council of the Federation for the achievement of favorable terms of the treaty and as a conduit of our proposals pertaining to the dismantling of the USSR as a unitary state. It is necessary for the achievement of these ends to weigh the possibility of the continuation of the activity of people's deputies of the USSR elected from Estonia.

3. The conclusion of bilateral economic agreements between the Republic of Estonia and the republics which are a part of the USSR.

4. The concordance in principle of the activity of the Republic of Estonia with the other Baltic states, without detriment here to the interests of the Estonian people and not retreating from our political aspirations.

Estonian Town Resolves To Replace Lenin Statue

LD2308135190 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1200 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] The 51st anniversary of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact was marked by some Tartu Kaitseliit [Defense League] members in their own way.

Early in the morning, a Lenin monument was taken down in Tartu, on Riia Magi. Those taking it down were from the Kaitseliit Tamme company. At 0500, a crane arrived, and after the statue was removed it was taken to the Tartu KEK [Inter-Collective-Farm Construction Office] yard. At 0900 exactly, the bronze Lenin statue was brought to the Tartu yard illegally. Second, it has been acknowledged that an inquiry has opened to hand over corresponding evidence to the procuracy. Third, until the town council adopts a legal resolution on the future location of the monument, the monument will be returned to its former site.

Commentator Highlights Recent Baltic Events

LD2508225190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0935 GMT 25 Aug 90

[By commentator Lev Aksenov]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 25 Aug (TASS)—A fundamentaly new point has been reached in the political life of the Baltic Republics—their plenipotentiary representatives are starting direct talks with the USSR on future relations. The situation is rather out of the ordinary, but dialogue—whatever the form—is better than confrontation, and it was recognition of this which prompted the sides to sit down at the negotiating table.

Latvia's representatives were the first to start consultations in Moscow on 21 August. The plenipotentiary delegations from the republic and from the Union "set out their views on a broad range of problems to do with the basic principles of two-way relations"—so says the official report on the meeting. Latvia's emissaries, who held a press conference following the meeting, pointed out that in their opinion a future treaty between Riga and Moscow should be based on "restoring recognition of the Latvian Republic as an independent state and a subject of international law". As far as one can judge there is a long way still to go to bring the positions together, but the first step has been taken and the talks will be continued.

A curious situation arose in the course of the consultations—the two delegations included people who, formally speaking, were close colleagues. The USSR delegation included Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the country's parliament; while the Latvian delegation included his Deputy Ilmar Bisher, who is also the republic's first deputy prime minister...

The past week has also seen the first round of talks between Tallinn and Moscow. In the view of the head of the USSR delegation Nikolay Gritsenko, "Relations with Estonia should be mutually-beneficial." The leader of the Estonian delegation Ulo Nugis said that the delegation possesses the authority of the republic's Supreme Soviet to conduct talks on restoring Estonia's state independence." It has been decided that throughout September and October the delegations will meet weekly, and at the end of October the documents summing up their conclusions will be submitted to the Presidential Council for its consideration.

The leader of the Lithuanian delegation at talks with the Soviet Union, Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis, sent his proposals for future talks to Moscow. As yet there has been no response, but to judge from an inteview the Lithuanian leader gave to USSR Central Television, he is counting on agreement to start talks.

Governments' Declaration Opposes 'Integral'

904A0558B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 8 Aug 90 p 2

["Declaration: On the Essence of State Associations of the 'Integral' type"; this declaration was also published in Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 8 August 1990 p 2]

[Text] Members of the meeting of the heads of the governments of the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Lithuania, and the Republic of Estonia and of representatives of the governments of the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], the Moscow Soviet, the Leningrad Soviet, and the Leningrad Oblast Soviet, having analyzed the proposed consequences of creating the State Interbranch Association "Integral" on the territory of the Republic of Estonia by Order No. 1045r of the USSR Council of Ministers of 2 July 1990, believe that this act establishes a form of economic organization on the basis of Union enterprises under the direct jurisdiction of the USSR Council of Ministers, which is a straightforward attempt to preserve or even strengthen the command and administrative system of Estonian economics on the part of the USSR.

The association that is being created is divorced from the state power, legislation, economy, monetary circulation, banking system, and budget of the republic and finds itself under the direct maintenance and the direct jurisdiction of ministries and departments of the USSR. In this fashion an isolated zone of economic directive-driven management is created by the USSR which is set off from the sovereign state will and economic system of the republic and which impedes economic reform and the transition to market relations.

The creation of a republic market with such mechanisms of state economic regulation as taxes, prices, and budgetary politics that take into account the distinctive characteristics of the local conditions becomes impossible when associations of the "Integral" type exist. The absence of interrelations with the republic budget leads to a situation in which financing of the social sphere relies completely on the budget of the Republic of Estonia at the same time that all income is centralized on a departmental principle in the budget of the USSR. Under existing conditions this may lead to the necessity of decreasing republic budgetary allocations for the association's zone of operations resulting in complications to the financial and economic position of the social sphere, which means that social tensions will grow and inevitably influence the political situation in the republic.

The participants of the meeting emphasize that the method of creating the association "Integral" contradicts the laws of both the Republic of Estonia and the USSR and creates a political and legal precedent whereby laws are repealed or changed by order of the government, and in this fashion new and unconstitutional organs of executive power are in essence created. In the process, such a precedent may be disseminated to other regions. The creation of associations of the "Integral" type testify to the fact that a system of countermeasures is being developed with respect to those republics in the process of asserting their sovereignty and moving to a variety of forms of property ownership and a market economy regulated reasonably and exclusively by law.

The participants of the meeting request that the USSR Council of Ministers repeal its Order No. 1045r of 2 July 1990 and in this fashion renounce this latest attempt to perpetuate departmental dictate and Union jurisdiction and property. At the same time they recommend that such decisions not be made without preliminary consultations and agreements with the affected republics.

The participants of the meeting consider it necessary to continue consultations on issues of democratization of the economy and opposition to attempts to centralize it in any organized form.

[Signed] I. Godmanis, chairman of the Republic of Latvia Council of Ministers
K.-D. Prunskiene, prime minister of the Republic of Lithuania
G. Kelugeru, minister of construction of SSR of Moldova
D. Dudnev, deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee of the RSFSR
E. Savisaar, chairman of the government of the Republic of Estonia
A. Chubays, deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Leningrad City Soviet of People's Deputies
A. Belyakov, deputy chairman of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies
Ye. Kotova, chairman of the standing commission on economic policy and enterprise of the Moscow City Soviet of People's Deputies
[Dated] Tallinn, 5 August 1990

Baltic Leaders Criticized in Statement

LD2408132690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1910 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Daugavpils (Latvian Republic), 23 Aug (TASS)—A meeting between the leaders of local self-administration bodies, mainly Russian-speaking towns and rayons of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, took place here.

The participants in the meeting adopted a joint statement. It says that in connection with the current political situation in the Baltic republics, the decisions of their Supreme Soviets, and the position of the Council of Baltic States, the representatives of towns and rayon soviets of people deputies, following exchange of views, believe that the decision of the Council of Baltic States signed by Gorbunov, Landsbergis, and Ruutel on refusing to participate in the development of a new Union treaty does not express the will of the whole of the population of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Such a position of the current leadership and the Supreme Soviets of the Baltic republics could seriously complicate the search for possibilities of and ways toward solving the issue of their sovereignty and lead to unpredictable economic and social consequences.

The participants in the meeting deemed it expedient to expand in the future reciprocal contacts through regular consultations and exchange of delegations and to seek for new forms of cooperation between soviets. They supported the position of the country's top leadership voiced at various levels to the effect that representatives of the towns and rayons they represent should take part in talks between the Baltic republics and the USSR and in commissions on the talks.

The leaders addressed the supreme bodies of power of the Baltic republics with the following proposal: to extend the policy of the priority of interests common to all mankind over national interests and to protect human rights.

The representatives of the Daugavpils, Kohtla-Jarve, Narva, Sillamaa, and Rezekne town soviets and the chairmen of the Kraslava, Snieckus, and Salcininkai rayon soviets signed the document.

An address to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev was adopted at the meeting, too. It notes that in connection with the comprehensive talks that have started in Moscow between the working groups of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the plenipotentiary representatives of the Supreme Soviets of the Baltic republics on developing a concept of the Union treaty as the legal basis for the existence of a union of sovereign states and the position of the Council of Baltic States, we ask you to recognize as subjects of the talks the plenipotentiary representatives of our towns and rayons holding the mandate of trust and responsible for the future of their electorate.

Army Schedules Civil Defense Drills in Baltics

LD2508132390 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] The Soviet leadership of the Baltic Military Region announced that in accord with the headquarters' plan for the instruction of the Soviet Army civil defense exercises will take place on the territory of the Baltic Military Region at the end of August and the beginning of September this year. They will involve changes and dislocation of control points as well as [word indistinct] of communication and supply all over the territory of the region. We have to remind our listeners that the intense movement of armored vehicles in the streets of Vilnius in March this year was also explained as a military exercise.

RSFSR

Reportage Continues on Yeltsin's Russian Tour

Speaks on Sakhalin Independence

LD2408152990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1220 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Today Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, continues familiarizing himself with Sakhalin and its problems. Our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko reports from Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk:

[Omelchenko] Sakhalin is a golden island. Oil, gas, and coal are extracted here. But in almost all the spheres of local life dilapidation is prevalent. The people who walk upon the gold do not own it. And the head of the Russian parliament could see this for himself. He traveled to the most remote and neglected places of the Union's largest island. He went to a fishing village where the Nivkhi, Sakhalin's small indigenous people, live, and to Okha, the center of the Sakhalin oilmen. By bad country road, in pouring rain, Yeltsin managed to get to Uglegorsk, to the Sakhalin miners today and congratulated them on the forthcoming holiday. He listened to their proposals, demands, and requests. Such direct contacts with simple workers provide the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet with new ideas and thoughts and new energy for the difficult advance of our republic toward social and economic progress.

Boris Nikolayevich also visited the Dolinsk pulp and paper plant, which is decrepit, has obsolete equipment, and suffers from constant shorgages of raw materials. Today he had a radio meeting with fishermen who are fishing in diverse areas of the world's oceans. Problems of the industry were discussed. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin spoke about the main thing, about the forthcoming independence of Sakhalin Oblast:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] The Russian Supreme Soviet has adopted a law giving Sakhalin the status of a free economic zone, a free enterprise zone. We think that this first experience will be very important for Russia's future economic policy and for entering the market, too, for these are quite significant elements of markets. We would like the Sakhalin residents themselves to determine this status. The law has been adopted only in general—to give Sakhalin the status of a free economic zone—but you yourselves should determine what it should comprise. If we continue along this line and quite boldly, fast, vigorously, and radically, not the way we have walked for five years, after all we will be able to change the situation in Russia, the Far East included. We can, we can improve it! [end recording]

This evening Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin will meet businessmen, people's deputies, representatives of public organizations and working movements of Sakhalin. Cardinal issues pertaining to the establishment of a free enterprise zone on the island will be discussed. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1300 GMT on 24 August notes that Yeltsin has completed his tour of Sakhalin]

Views Economic Zone Decision

LD2508133690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Correspondent L. Savitskiy] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin spent some time on the Sakhalinskaya marine drilling rig off the island's northeast coast. He took an interest in the state of geological exploration work on the Sakhalin oil- and gas-bearing shelf and in the problems involved in developing it. These are regional problems because the Far East's fuel and energy basis is now in a state of crisis.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Sakhalin is rich. And then Sakhalin is, as it were, the eastern march or border of Russia. So people have been making their homes here for many decades, though life is fairly tough. While developing on the basic of economic structures for the oil workers, [word indistinct] gas workers and fisherman, we must of course create normal living conditions here. The economy here must not be allowed to develop in such a distorted way.

The Russian Supreme Soviet has now therefore adopted a decision to grant Sakhalin the status of a free economic zone. This status is now being drawn up and will be confirmed at the oblast session and then the proposal will be submitted for final confirmation of this status by the Russian Council of Ministers. This will give the people of Sakhalin very broad opportunities to display their abilities in managing things here in Sakhalin with such a freedom of action, in attracting foreign investment here to create joint enterprises, and in getting work quickly under way here to extract gas as soon as possible, including for the Far East, which is today greatly suffering from a shortage of fuel. It will make it possible to rapidly create the infrastructure which today, of course, is in a rather sorry state. [end recording]

[Savitskiy] Next stop on Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's itinerary is the town of Okha, Sakhalin's oil capital. [video shows Yeltsin talking on the radio to fisherman, visiting miners and pulp and paper mill; Yeltsin and entourage inspecting the installation; Yeltsin giving interview]

Stresses Area's Raw Materials

LD2508141790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Report by special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko from Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk]

[Text] [Omelchenko] Today Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's working trip around Russia was full of interesting meetings. An open radio conversation was held with Sakhalin fishermen who are fishing in various parts of the world ocean. Yeltsin also met Sakhalin miners and congratulated them on the forthcoming holiday and learned about their problems. He visited the pulp-and-paper works, a town hospital, and the Sinegorsk mineral water health resort. In the evening he is summarizing the results of his trip around Sakhalin and the Kurils at a meeting with the oblast aktiv. As some were joking here, at first this meeting, according to its composition, resembled an old party and economic aktiv, but Yeltsin disturbed the usual orderly spate of eulogies and spoke about the essence of the oblast's transformation into a free enterprise zone. He briefed them on the results of his working trip to the largest island of the Union.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] The situation everywhere is complex though it differs slightly. It is complex in the economic and social spheres. The social sphere is lagging behind everywhere, but perhaps especially on Sakhalin and in the Far East. It lags in culture and interethnic relations. The people are deprived of rights and lack faith. The labor collectives are deprived of rights. All these have turned the Far East into an appendage supplying raw materials. The center was using it and was taking everything away and giving in accordance with the residual principle. The concentration of industry is simply hypertrophied in some regions and especially in Bashkiria, Tataria, in the Urals and in the Komi as well. The standard of living is such that sometimes one feels ashamed of and sorry for Sakhalin on behalf of Soviet power during this entire period of just over 70 years.

This is the island that they did not have time to destroy yet, did not have time to spoil completely, as was done in many Russian regions. I had a different opinion about the Kurils. I also thought that they are not of much use. But by visiting even its small territory, Kunashir, I was convinced that this kray is also rich and interesting. We would like you to submit your proposals on your status as soon as possible. What do you want? Maximum rights should be given to the oblast soviet and all other soviets so that they feel like owners here and do not refer to Moscow, but decide their own affairs. [end recording]

[Omelchenko] The Russian Supreme Soviet chairman is flying to Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy. Kamchatka is awaiting a dialogue with Yeltsin and the constructive decision of the economic and social problems of this severe region of the soviet land.

Ends Sakhalin Visit 24 Aug

LD2408225690 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Belovitsky]

[Text] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk August 24 TASS—A three-day working visit of President of the Russian parliament Boris Yeltsin to the Sakhalin region was concluded today. This remote region of the USSR is a raw material appendage to the country. This policy in the development of the Sakhalin region's economy can be ended if it is given the status of a free economic zone. The law regarding this has been adopted by the Russian Supreme Soviet.

Boris Yeltsin told residents of the region that they can decide on the use of the island's natural resources and results of their work.

Yeltsin's talk with Nivkhs, native people of Sakhalin's north, was candid and touched upon sensitive matters. Industrial development of the region deprived this national minority of the opportunity to pursue their traditional occupations. Unless urgent measures are taken, first of all by local government bodies, Nivkhs might become extinct in some five years.

Yeltsin at first reacted rather sharply to the decree of the Soviet president which abrogated the resolution of the presidium of Russia's Supreme Soviet "on the protection of the economic basis of the Russian Federation's sovereignty". This morning Yeltsin said at a meeting with Sakhalin miners: "If things continue this way, Gorbachev might be left without Russia."

But at the news conference at the end of the day Yeltsin was less emotional. He told reporters that "it is not a process of confrontation, but growing closeness between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation. serious steps to meet each other halfway have been taken. But this decree means half a step back, and this distance will have to be covered again."

Answering TASS, Yeltsin said that he continues to support the idea of the "third road" in development of relations with Japan and five stages to achieve it, which he advanced after his trip to Tokyo. At the same time, the head of the Russian parliament declared against the transfer to Japan of the four Kuril islands which Japan claims.

Urges Sakhalin Economic Rights

LD2508142990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Report by correspondent Sergey Omelchenko from Sakhalin]

[Text] [Omelchenko] Today the Russian parliament head has a packed program of meetings with fishermen, sailors and border guards of Kamchatka ahead of him. This corner of the country, which has not yet seen one republican leader, is preparing for a dialogue.

Well, yesterday a serious, constructive conversation took place between Yeltsin and the inhabitants of Sakhalin. The oblast's transfer to a free enterprise zone was discussed. Here is an excerpt from yesterday's meeting.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Maximum rights must be given to the oblast soviet and all the other soviets so people really feel that they are their own masters here and don't refer to Moscow but resolve their questions themselves. You must be given a direct channel for concluding contracts with foreign firms. You must be given the right to set up joint ventures and purchase equipment without Moscow. The percentage of hard currency which is left to you must be set. The licensing right must be given to the oblast soviet because you are not against your people. You are not against the peoples of Russia and you will not do this to the detriment of the Russian state. Therefore you must be given this right of licensing, that is, the right to decide how much, and what, can be sold, and (?in firms) in this way remedy your situation with regard to the economy, the social sphere, housing, health care, communal matters, people's education, children's establishments, and so forth, since you are—I don't know—in 50th or 60th place among the Russian Federation oblasts.

The following is my conclusion from my visit to Sakhalin: so far the soviets have not yet really taken the whole economy into their hands. The soviets everywhere are not the real highest authoritative body in their constituency—not the highest authoritative body, above which there is nothing, and no one, no political or public organization. And my wish is that you set your affairs straight as soon as possible. [end recording]

Arrives on Kamchatka Peninsula

LD2508081690 Moscow TASS in English 0807 GMT 25 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Borovkov]

[Text] Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky August 25 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin arrived on Kamchatka Peninsula today.

At Yelizovo airport he was welcomed by local leaders, members of the public and reporters.

At an impromptu press conference on the tarmac, Yeltsin said President Mikhail Gorbachev's decree repealing Russian parliament's August 9 resolution was a "mistake".

The parliamentary resolution annulled deals to sell diamonds, gold and other strategic resources, conducted without the Russian government's approval.

"The president's decree does not concern the Russian Supreme Soviet decision. He does not have such a right. I would advise (him) not to quarrel with Russia, where 150 million live," Yeltsin said.

Yeltsin is expected to visit fish-processing and building industries in the area and meet local lawmakers.

Local authorities said they will seek Yeltsin's support in tackling the area's mounting economic and social problems.

Kamchatka is the last stop in Yeltsin's Far Eastern tour.

Comments on Purpose of Trip

LD2508223990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 25 August in its "Vremya" newscast carries a 1.5-minute video report on Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Chairman Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's arrival in Kamchatka on 25 August.

Over video of scenery, port installations and shipping, the arrival of Yeltsin's plane, and his welcome by locals, correspondent V. Gorbikov reports from Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, the furthest point of Yeltsin's tour, where he intends to stay for four days and meet with fishermen, builders, geologists, and inhabitants of the town, which is celebrating its 250th anniversary. Gorbikov reports: "It is not the jubilee and the celebrations, of course, that are of prime interest to the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, because in this town, like elsewhere, a great mass of problems has accumulated. Let us hope that this visit will prompt solutions, Boris Nikolayevich."

Video then shows Yeltsin being interviewed outdoors. He says: "This sort of trip—a three-week trip with a lot of meetings with people, hundreds of thousands of people already—will undoubtedly provide a great deal of food for thought on how to correct at least to some degree the work of the Russian Supreme Soviet."

The report ends with video of cars traveling along a coastal road.

Tours Coast, Residential Areas

LD2508202790 Moscow TASS in English 1316 GMT 25 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Borovkov]

[Text] Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy August 25 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin, completing his long tour of Siberia and the Soviet Far East, took a little break on Saturday, watering down a hectic schedule offered by the hosts.

Nevertheless, he toured the city on Avacha Bay coast and visited two supermarkets in new residential areas, mixing with eager residents, who showered him with questions.

On Sunday, Yeltsin is expected to keep to a full-scale schedule. Somewhere in the day he will probably fly over Kamchatka in a helicopter.

Deplores Ecological Damage

LD2608155790 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 26 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Borovkov]

[Text] Petropavlosk-Kamchatskiy, Soviet Far East, August 26 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin visited the geyser valley on the Kamchatka Peninsula in the morning today.

The unique valley, which is part of the Kronotskiy nature reserve, has for the last 15 years been closed to tourists for fear they can disturb its delicate ecological balance. Exceptions have been made only for scientific expeditions.

Yeltsin was shown waterfalls, geysers and the caldera of the Uzon volcano with a thermal lake.

The president said that "places like this should be shown to people to foster their love of nature," but he warned against excessive commercialisation in the reserve.

He said with bitterness that the environmental situation in the Russian Federation had made an "oppressive" impression on him during his current trip.

"Many places will never be restored, this is why the work of Kamchatka scientists in cooperation with the local authorities shows a good example of how one can, and should, protect nature in places where it has not yet suffered from anthropogenic and technogenic effect," Yeltsin said.

After the nature reserve, Yeltsin visited an army garrison. Reporters were not allowed to accompany him there. A local government official told them this was a demand of the military command.

On Saturday, when reporters told Yeltsin they had few chances to be let into the garrison, he said the local government should settle this issue.

Today everyone could see that local authorities are not always masters of their own land.

Speaks to People's Deputies

LD2608165990 Moscow TASS in English 1643 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky August 26 TASS—President of the Russian Supreme Soviet Boris Yeltsin, who is touring the republic and now staying for the second day in the Kamchatka Peninsula (the Soviet Far East), visited a military garrison today.

The command of the garrison demanded that journalists should not be allowed to accompany him. Well-informed sources report that Yeltsin visited a nuclear-powered submarine, saw its engine and weapons. In his conversation with sailors he showed a good knowledge of military problems and types of armaments. He made the following entry in the distinguished visitors' book: "Good work. Follow the same course." At the same time, he pointed out that it was necessary to handle carefully the land on which the garrison is located.

Late in the afternoon Yeltsin made a one-hour speech before people's deputies and representatives of the public and answered numerous questions. He again described as an "error" the recent presidential decree of August 23, which is aimed at cancelling the resolution of the presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet "On the protection of the economic foundation of Russia's sovereignty" and said: "It is surprising that the president issues only prohibition decrees. In general, the two leaders—those of the Union and Russia—should not work in conditions of confrontation."

Yeltsin had a short meeting with deputies of local councils of the Koryak Autonomous Region, which is part of the Kamchatka Region. They discussed the problem of national minorities.

Tomorrow he plans to attend several meetings with labour collectives of Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky and to leave for Moscow in the evening.

Speaks on Rights of Minorities

LD2708063490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] The first item concerns the trip around Russia by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. If I am not mistaken, today is the last day, and we switch over to Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, the region furthest from Moscow. Over to Sergey Omelchemko.

[Omelchenko]The three-week working trip by Yeltsin around Russia, a marathon of a trip, ends here today in Petropavlovsk. In over three days, the head of the Russian parliament has acquainted himself with the life of the men and women of Kamchatka. Inasmuch as it is possible in such a short period, he has become acquainted in-depth with the problems of this harsh Soviet region. Among the economic and social problems, the problems of relations between civilian and military authorities, here in Kamchatka Oblast, the fate of the minority peoples of Kamchatka—the Itelmens, Koryaks, and Evens—causes much concern here. Chronic poverty, national culture sinking into oblivion: all this suffering, all this pain of the people of Kamchatka.

Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin held a meeting with representatives of the minority peoples of Kamchatka. Here are his views and conclusions about what has to be done to revive the minority peoples of Russia.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] In general, yes, they have to be given autonomy and independence for the national minorities, but within the limitations of what they themselves can make use of. If they cannot...if there are only 700 people there...if we hand over all the mineral wealth, all the riches, then they will not be able to make proper use of all this...so one has to have a very careful attitude toward this.

We had a long discussion yesterday with representatives of Koryakskiy Okrug, and of course they were saying: Give us sovereignty, but at the same time give us the whole system of provision via Kamchatka Oblast. That does not happen. If you have sovereignty, then, OK, you take everything upon yourself. Or, say, various elements, say, of authority and rights can be given to us either by the oblast or Russia. Well, that is...we...I think yesterday was a first, very interesting talk. Many of them expressed their views and we decided that we will meet later in Moscow...say, the representatives of Koryakskiy Okrug, the Kamchatka Oblast soviet, and the leadership of the Russian Supreme Soviet, and we will continue to discuss this matter prior to concluding the treaty of the federation, the Russian federal treaty. For this purpose we have to clearly define who is to be the subject of the federation. [end recording]

[Omelchenko] During the day Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin also visited the Petropavlovsk house-building combine. Houses here are built in the old way. There are many dilapidated buildings and huts which are poorly suited to local conditions. Then he paid a visit to the fish canning works, which also needs fundamental reconstruction to ensure that there is more canned fish in our country. Then he travelled to a military unit to meet the military leadership. He visted a children's home. In the evening, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin returns to Moscow. Your special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko was reporting from Petropavlovsk on Kamchatka.

Russian Referendum Planned for October or November

AU2508134690 Paris AFP in English 0745 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, Aug 25 (AFP)—The Russian Federation will hold a referendum in two to three months on the principles of a new constitution, INTERFAX news agency reported Saturday quoting a senior Russian parliamentary source. The referendum should be held in October or November, according to Oleg Rumyantsev, secretary of he parliament's constitutional commission.

Russian Parliamentary President Boris Yeltsin said 10 days ago that a referendum would be held "next autumn on introducing a presidential regime." Mr. Yeltsin, who currently only heads the Russian parliament, gave no details on how a future executive president would be elected, but he is on record as favouring republican-wide election. Mr. Yeltsin, widely seen as the likely winner in such a contest, would see his credibility boosted in the country as the only popularly-elected president. Mr. Gorbachev was elected executive president of the country by parliament.

Meanwhile, Mr. Rumyantsev told INTERFAX that the parliamentary commission had formulated the basic principles of a new republican constitution which would be "neither socialist, nor capitalist."

The constitution would include articles on republican sovereignty, government by the people, priority of personal freedoms, political pluralism and the state's responsibility to the people, INTERFAX reported.

Mr. Yeltsin has said that the principles for a republican constitution should be adopted ahead of those for a new Soviet constitution which Mr. Gorbachev is currently seeking to reform through a new Union treaty.

Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov said Friday that a joint meeting of the presidential council and the federation council would take place on August 31 to discuss economic reforms and the drafting of the new Union agreement.

The process leading to the adoption of a new Union agreement should be speeded up, Mr. Ryzhkov added in a televised address.

Mr. Gorbachev said last week that a new Union treaty should be signed "this year."

Silayev on Russian Orthodox, Culture Exhibition

LD2408140190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The charity exhibition, "The Inextinguishable Icon Lamp," opened today in the building of the cinema center in Moscow.

[Begin video recording] [Correspondent N. Shakhova] Charity causes are now very necessary for many people. This exhibition, organized by the Charity and Health Foundation introduces us to the history of the good deeds of the Russian Orthodox Church and Russian Culture. Faith without deeds is dead. [passage omitted]

[Aleksiy II, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia] Those oases of Russian life and Russian culture that remind us of the life of great people who lived in our land should introduce us to what is beautiful and revive these values. We should carefully look after them and preserve them and learn on the basis of the experience of these places how one needs to love one's fatherland, how one needs to love one's people and one's native art.

[I.S. Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers] Well, I would like to say that is part of the movement toward the revival of Russia. We have recently been talking about the health of the Russian, of his physical amd moral health. It seems to me that a major mission inherent in charity [blagotvoritelstvo] is precisely spritual health. This exhibition is, or course, an appeal, an invitation for the initially, maybe little stream of this charity activity to turn into a mighty river. The fact that we are here together with the patriarch is also symbolic.

[Skhakhova] It is symbolic.

[Silayev] It is not the first time that we are meeting. We have interesting ideas for joint cooperation as regards the spiritual revival of Russian culture, including also that of the Orthodox Church. [end recording]

Journalists' Union Holds Constituent Congress

LD2508004790 Moscow TASS in English 1733 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Lev Aksyonov]

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—From now on journalists in the Russian Federation will be united in one republican union. This decision was adopted by the first stage of the Constituent congress of the Russian Union of Journalists. The first stage is concluding here today.

The congress proceeded in a stormy way. The scenario prepared in advance underwent a large number of changes. It was planned that more than 400 delegates will discuss a report of the organising committee, the draft regulations and will elect leading bodies of the new union.

But a complication developed from the first minutes. Representatives of Moscow, Leningrad and of Tataria, one of the biggest autonomous republics, have not participated in the congress.

These journalist organisations arrived at the conclusion that the concept of the activity of the future union is unsatisfactory, that the preparation for the congress was conducted hastily. Representatives of these organisations of journalists were present at the congress only as observers.

The culmination of the congress was yesterday, on the second day of the forum. Fifty-two delegates made a statement proposing that the congress be regarded as the initial stage so that there should be time to prepare thoroughly the regulations and programme documents.

There were stormy debates around the "statement of 52", but in the end the proposal was adopted by a majority vote.

Such a cardinal change in the work of the congress prompted observers from Moscow, Leningrad and Tataria to state their intention to participate in the second stage of the congress which will be held in approximately two months" time.

The delegates formed a temporary executive committee. A number of places on it is reserved for those who have not yet participated in the work of the congress. The congress adopted an address to the second session of the Russian Supreme Soviet opening on September 3.

Delegate to the congress, USSR People's Deputy Valeriy Kucher described the results of the congress as a "victory for democratic forces." In an interview to TASS he noted that the creation of the union is very important, so there is no room for haste. "The interests of all journalists should be taken into account in the utmost. We need a strong creative and professional organisation, capable of protecting journalists' rights," Kucher said.

Reportage on Riots in Siberia's Chelyabinsk City

Militia Restrains 'Hooligans'

LD2408191390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Mass unrest in Chelyabinsk. The liquor line affair, which began on 22 August, has had a sad sequel. Hooligans who yesterday staged a rebellion in the liquor department of a supermarket and wrecked the premises of Kurchatovskiy rayispolkom [rayon soviet executive committee] in Chelyabinsk, who were then dispersed, decided to hit back. Yesterday evening hundreds of people again gathered outside the executive committee. Gradually the tone began to be set by an aggressive section of the young people, many of whom were drunk. As soon as it begun to get dark, bonfires flared up in Komsomolskiy Prospekt, and the thugs once again blocked the movement of public transport. The executive committee chairman, Sumin, and the people's deputies who arrived on the scene were unable to convince the rampaging hooligans. Stones were thrown from the crowd. Once again the restoration of public order was entrusted to a special militia unit. It was 0200 before they succeeded in dispersing the rioters. The losses were more considerable than the day before: dozens of people on both sides were wounded and sustained injuries of various degrees of severity. Three were taken to hospital. Five trolley buses and three buses were smashed, and 80 people were arrested, including quite a few adolescents.

Today, an emergency session of the presidium of Chelyabinsk City Soviet of People's Deputies was held. It was decided to strengthen public order in the city. The deputies are explaining the situation to the population at enterprises and in homes, but their arguments and appeals for reason are often not well received by the population because of the noticeable worsening of the supply of food and essential goods.

Riots Spread to City Center

LD2508082390 Moscow TASS in English 0751 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Chelyabinsk August 25 TASS—Riots in the Siberian city of Chelyabinsk, started two days ago when an unruly queue outside a liquor store went on a rampage when the staff refused to serve in the absence of militiamen, spread to the city centre on Friday.

A large crowd of drunk young people gathered at night near a local council executive committee building, lambasted on Thursday. Several mock bombs exploded. Security forces rounded up several teenagers with petrol bombs.

Some 1,500 people then headed for the regional Communist Party headquarters. Militia tried to stop them, but a group of people's deputies, including First Deputy Major P. Matushkin, demanded that the march continue, saying they will bear the responsibility for maintaining law and order.

The crowd marched on, smashing several cars and an ambulance on its way.

At midnight, protesters held a rally demanding better food and consumer goods supplies before the party headquarters.

Regional Council Executive Committee P. Sumin and other local leaders tried to talk to protesters, but were met with jeers and curses blurted through bullhorns.

Participants demanded the immediate release of protesters detained on Friday. Without waiting for response a group of hoodlums tried to storm the city Interior Ministry Department. Militiamen managed to thwart the attack.

After 1:00 in the morning the crowd left the square, smashing dozens of window shops on its way back.

New casualties have been reported and more people detained.

Officials in the regional and city executive committees said today they were receiving dozens of calls from Chelyabinsk residents demanding an end to the rampage.

People's deputies' hopes to hold a peaceful demonstration turned out to be an illusion.

Work collectives have begun forming volunteer workers' units to stop the riots.

Militia on 'Mass Disturbances'

LD2508155590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Telephone interview with Lieutenant Colonel (Mikhail Ivanovich Pirozhkov), deputy head of the Chelyabinsk Oblast Executive Committee Directorate of Internal Affairs Political Department, by correspondent Yuriy Korotkov—recorded]

[Text] As has been reported already, mass disturbances are taking place in Chelyabinsk. Our correspondent Yuriy Korotkov just phoned Lieutenant Colonel [Militia] (Mikhail Ivanovich Pirozhkov), deputy head of the Chelabinsk Oblast Executive Committee Directorate of Internal Affairs Political department and asked him to tell us about the situation in the city.

[(Pirozhkov)] For three days now an endless meeting has been going on outside the Kurchatovskiy Rayon Executive Committee building opposite the Pobeda [Victory] Cinema. During the day it is possible to speak to its participants. Many leaders of oblast, city and law-enforcement bodies are taking part in it. As dusk falls and especially at night there is no communication as emotions prevail. Uncontrollable youths and teenagers, the majority of whom are drunk, head the crowd.

[Korotkov] Tell me please, what has provoked these disturbances?

[(Pirozhkov)] It is difficult to say. Disruption in the sale of alcoholic drinks at one of the Kurchatovskiy Rayon shops was the immediate cause, but you understand perfectly well that there are deeper reasons. They are the general dissatisfaction with the present state of the food supply to the population and so on and so forth. It is a different matter that all these take ugly forms and the young people and teenagers, with whom it is practically impossible to hold a conversation, happen to be at the spearhead of this dissatisfaction. They have one agrument—a stone, a stick, and bad language—especially when a majority of them are drunk.

[Korotkov] You say that there are disruptions in the alcohol supply in the city and that many people in the crowd were drunk. How can you explain this? Where do they get the alcohol from?

[(Pirozhkov)] It is difficult to give a simple answer to this. I cannot say that none of the shops sell alcoholic drinks. Some do. Besides, there is information that alcoholic drinks were brought in by unidentified individuals in cars and were consumed on the spot. Nevertheless, the fact remains that there were a lot of drunken people.

[Korotkov] Have any people been detained or wounded?

[(Pirozhkov)] In the past 24 hours no one has been wounded and only three people have been detained. They are being dealt with. In general, the militia workers tried to hold talks. We managed to persuade them and around 0300 most of the crowd dispersed. But before that they smashed window panes in many shops, post offices, etc. along the central street named after Kirov. All shops within 300 meters were left without glass; several booths, kiosks, etc. were overturned.

[Korotkov] What measure are being taken by the city law enforcement bodies?

[(Pirozhkov)] First, a full report on the events that took place was shown on television. We appealed to workers, enterprises, television, and organs of the Soviet Government for help. Several times we appealed to the population on television today. The appeal and reports have already been shown on television a few times and they will be shown again. The Executive Committee adopted a decision today on the situation. The law enforcement bodies have sufficient forces to suppress these protests but that task has not been set. We want to do without the unnecessary use of force.

Area 'Returning to Normal'

LD2608093490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] According to reports from Chelyabinsk, on the whole the situation in the city is returning to normal. Lieutenant Colonel (Starikov), deputy chief of the oblast directorate of internal affairs, said on the phone that this is the result of active explanatory work and also of the additional measures that have been taken by the law-enforcement bodies. The decisions of the oblast and city soviets on straightening out the food trade have also produced the necessary effects.

Yesterday a rally was held in Kurchatovskiy Rayon, where disturbances started several days ago. People's deputies and representatives of various public movements took part. An inititive group was set up at the rally. Its members met with those detained and found out the reasons for their arrests and the conditions they are being detained in. Appearing on local television, members of the initiative group refuted rumors that detainees are being beaten up by militia workers and that people have been illegally arrested.

Krasnoyarsk Kray Bomb Explosions Increase

LD2608140190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Our correspondent reports that explosions of home-made bombs have increased in Krasnoyarsk Kray. Three bombs exploded recently at the Kommunar mine in Khakassia. Fortunately there were no casualties, but considerable damage was done. An investigation is underway at the moment.

The head of the KGB directorate for Krasnoyarsk Kray, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic People's Deputy Safonov, described the situation as extraordinary. During the first half of the year alone, over 80 cases of the manufacture and use of explosive devices were registered in the kray. In an interview, he said that the escalation of extremism has also affected Siberia. The ease with which criminals can lay their hands on explosives is forcing us to apply special control measures at production sites where blasting work has to be conducted, at pits and opencast coalmines in Krasnoyarsk Kray.

Soldier Commandeers Tank in Omsk

LD2508113690 Moscow TASS in English 1125 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Omsk August 25 TASS—Plane hijacks are the latest fad in the Soviet Union but since there were no available airliners around, soldier Dulanov commandeered a tank.

The vehicle crushed the gates of a training centre of Omsk's Frunze Army School and headed for the city, reaching its suburbs.

It was chased by a busload of servicemen, who finally climbed on top of the tank and tried to open the hatch, but failed.

The tank rumbled further on, scaring away passers-by and drivers.

It stopped only after non-commissioned officer Sergeev threw his coat on the vision device. Luckily, no one was hurt, and only a Moskvitch sedan was damaged.

Tobacco Riots Prompted by Shortages in Moscow

PM2308142090 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report by TASS correspondent: "Tobacco Riots and Vegetable Turmoil"]

[Text] Moscow—Misdemeanors in the system of supplying fresh vegetables and fruit to Muscovites were at the center of attention for the participants in a press conference held at Moscow Gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee] City Internal Affairs Administration 22 August.

N. Kirkin, deputy chief of the BKhSS [Department for the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation], noted that the lack of the necessary range of fruit and vegetables and high prices in the state trade network have led to a considerable increase in prices for this produce at the capital's markets. The BKhSS service has informed the city leadership that the lack of state trade outlets at the kolkhoz [collective farm] markets has a considerable influence on the high prices created by the monopoly. Trade purchasing enterprises do not constitute competition in their present form.

All this cannot fail to affect the crime situation by provoking speculation and bribery. Thus a shop chief was caught out speculating in potatoes on a particularly large scale—after establishing the ties he needed, he bought 60,000 kg of potatoes for a bribe, registered the purchase through a cooperative, and sold the goods at inflated prices in Rostov Oblast on the basis of forged documents. In the first seven months of this year 87 mercenary crimes were uncovered at Moscow's markets, which is 60 percent more than in the same period last year.

The topic of the lack of tobacco products on sale is perhaps equally pressing. In August there were about 100 so-called tobacco riots in the capital. Apart from objective factors (worn-out equipment at the tobacco factories, interruptions in the supply of cigarette components), the lack of smoking material is also affected by the concealment of goods. The number of instances of speculation stopped by the militia has also increased, some of them involving Havana cigars, which our smokers regard as exotic. There also needs to be a thorough investigation of the activity of many cooperates engaged in the resale of Soviet-produced cigarettes at commercial prices, although those prices can only be set for goods bought for foreign currency.

Russians Leaving Tuva Due To High Crime Levels

LD2508225290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 25 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] What is going on in Tuva? This is a question now being asked frequently by our viewers. What is forcing Russians to give up their jobs and the land they love, uproot families of four or five people and head off [words indistinct] to who knows where? Latest figures show that by the end of July 2,300 people or 685 families had left for Krasnoyarsk Kray alone. Now we have the case of the residents on the Plamya Revolyutsii state farm who decided to depart en masse. But when they got together to discuss it a different decision was taken. Here is a report from Tuva by our correspondent Yelena Kozlova:

[Begin recording] [video report begins showing the farm village, people gathered in groups or walking]

[Kozlova] In Tandinskiy Rayon we went to a gathering of citizens from the village of (Bolga-Zyn). This is the best farm in the republic and is where the greater part of the Russian-speaking population lives. We were told that the state farm had decided to withdraw from Tuva. Rayon and republican-level leaders, along with ministers, members of the republican supreme soviet and party leaders came rushing to the House of Culture at the appointed hour.

[Video shows Kozlova questioning a woman identified as L.A.Mangusheva, secretary of the party committee at the Plamya Revolyutsii state farm]

[Kozlova] As I understand it, this gathering is to discuss fleeing from the village?

[Mangusheva] No, the gathering is not about fleeing. Rather it is about how to deal with social questions and questions to do with combatting criminal activity. Theft, burglary, holliganism here are a source of concern not only to the Russian population but to the Tuva people too. [passage omitted]

[Video shows man identified as V.S.Kazhin-Ool, deputy chairman of the Tuva Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet]

[Kazhin-Ool] Many people are bothered about a deterioration in interethnic relations connected with criminal activity. Our republic's Supreme Soviet held an extraordinary session in June at which it endorsed urgent measures to stem crime.

[Kozlova] And has it been possible to do something?

[Kazhin-Ool] We have now strengthened the law-enforcement bodies and involved the whole of the republic's active of deputies in crime-prevention work. And I would say that the situation has stabilized somewhat. [end recording]

[Announcer] Some 30 refugee families have now returned to Tuva. A commission of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet is at work in the republic, which is to draw up a program for the socioeconomic development of Tuva and lay down specific measures for strengthening law and order. On the question of crime, let me remind you that the level of crime in the Tuva ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] is the highest not only in Russia but in the whole Union.

Astrakhan Obkom Plans To Elect New Leader

LD2408134390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Today's news includes the Astrakhan Obkom plenum. The plenum endorsed a statement by First Secretary Dyakov that he considers it advisable to concentrate on his work as chairman of the oblast soviet of people's deputies. The election for a new leader of the oblast party organization will be held after candidates have been discussed with Communists in the oblast.

New Tula Oblast First Secretary Elected

LD2508210290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] A party obkom plenum has taken place in Tula. It examined an organizational question. The plenum satisfied Y.I. Litvintsev's request to be relieved of his duties as first secretary of the CPSU obkom in connection with the need to concentrate on his work as chairman of the Tula Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies.

Taking into account the views of party organizations, (Kostyurin), who previously worked as second secretary of the Tula Party Obkom, was elected first secretary of the obkom.

Sanayev Takes Mordvian Oblast Post

LD2508034990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] A Mordovian Oblast CPSU Committee plenum was held today. It considered an organizational issue. The plenum satisfied Berezin's request, releasing him from the duties of first secretary of the Mordovian Oblast CPSU Committee in connection with his transfer to another job. Performance of the duties of first secretary of the Mordovian Oblast CPSU Committee has been placed on Sanayev, second secretary of the oblast, until the second stage of the oblast report-back election party conference.

Buryat Representatives Seek Review of Borders

LD2508214190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0924 GMT 25 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Trofimov]

[Text] Ulan-Ude, 25 Aug (TASS)—A large group of veterans, academics, and representatives of the intelligentsia of Buryat (autonomous republic in Siberia) has demanded in a letter to the USSR Supreme Soviet the annulment of a decision in 1937 to dismember the republic into four administrative-territorial units. The document has been published in the local newspapers.

The decision to dismember Buryat and include it in the Chita and Irkutsk Oblasts of Russia was made on the instructions of Stalin by the USSR Government in September 1937.

The appeal notes that "breaking up the single Buryat people was an anticonstitutional act and had the most serious economic, social, demographic, and ecological consequences".

The authors of the document are demanding that the republic be given back its previous aymaks (Buryats' territorial units of residence). "We are not talking about a redrawing of borders, we are asking for the restoration of the republic within the borders which were fixed while Lenin was still alive". The question is also raised of restoring the state's original name—the Buryat- Mongolian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Following public discussion of the appeal, the matters raised will be examined at a session of the parliament of Buryat which will be held in October.

Siberian Towns To Receive Leningrad Television

LD2508015990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Starting from today inhabitants of Siberian towns of Kurgan and Shadrinsk will be able to watch popular programs of Leningrad television. To achieve this, local telecommunications workers installed additional tv transmitters. In the Kurgan Oblast the construction of microwave radio links and relay transmitters continues. Their commissioning will increase the quality of reception of central and local television in the most remote village of the oblast.

Reportage Views New Moscow Local Radio Station

Background Noted

LD2208103190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] There is a new Moscow radio. Starting today on the medium wave in the frequency 1206 Khz it will be possible to hear broadcasts of the radio station Ekho Moskvy [Echo of Moscow]. Today at 1900-2100 it will go out on the air for the first time. As its editor-in-chief (Korzun) said in an interview, the radio station was set up independently of USSR Gosteleradio as an alternative to it. Its founders are the Moscow Soviet, the Radio Association attached to the USSR Ministry of Communications, the journal OGONEK, and the Moscow State University Faculty of Journalism. Ekho Moskvy will operate daily in the two-hour trial channel regime until October. Then it is intended to increase the duration of broadcasts up to six hours, and after the new year it will possibly switch to a 24-hour regime. Broadcasts are aimed at the widest circle of listeners. Each can choose a program to his taste. The Ekho Moskvy editorial office promises to provide varied and interesting information about the life of the capital and about Muscovites.

Broadcasts Described

LD2208210590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Summary] The first broadcast of a new radio station called Ekho Moskvy [Echo of Moscow] of Radio-M ended an hour ago. Its founders are the Moscow City Soviet, the Radio Association, the OGONEK magazine, and the Moscow State University Faculty of Journalism. Correspondent Aleksandr Nefedov spoke to Sergey Korzun, editor-in-chief of Radio-M.

Radio-M is an experimental channel which will broadcast for two hours, Korzun said. Each broadcast will consist of one hour of spoken programs and one hour of music and advertizements. Radio-M has "signed an agreement with AFP supplying it with information from which anything that can be of any interest to Muscovites about world events can be selected. Besides, there is an agreement with the INTERFAX agency that will provide information from the Soviet Union and Moscow, and, of course, Radio-M's own employees and friends in other cities and regions of the Soviet Union also undertake to supply it with information."

Western Republics

Belorussian KGB Officials Hold News Conference

LD2508175290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0432 GMT 25 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Palchevskiy]

[Text] Minsk, 25 Aug (TASS)—A sharp increase in the USSR's international links has given birth to, among other phenomena, a striving for a quick profit on the part of some Soviet citizens at the expense of selling economic secrets to the intelligence services and firms in the West. This was discussed at the news conference of the Belorussian KGB heads and specialists, which took place here.

The workers of the committee, which has opened its doors to journalists for the first time in over 40 years, answered questions for two hours.

The participants in the conference reported that in order to protect the commercial and scientific interests of the state, the Belorussian KGB had begun to oversee enterprises and installations with complex technological processes, the disruption of which may lead to serious consequences.

General Eduard Shirkovskiy, deputy chairman of the Belorussian KGB, told the TASS correspondent that the KGB is planning to submit all the lists of the victims of the Stalin's repressions, whose number is being estimated at tens of thousands, at the autumn session of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet.

A new subdivision of the Committee for the Public Relations was the organizer of the first news conference in the KGB. Its representative stressed that this meeting with journalists is just the first step towards glasnost. The KGB heads plan in the near future to hold a number of meetings at the work collectives of the republic's enterprises and scientific establishments, and to speak at the sessions of the local bodies of power.

Minsk City Party Committee Rights Broadened

LD2308200390 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian 0515 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] The Minsk Oblast party committee plenum was held yesterday. The most acute question was that dealing with the independence of the Minsk city party committee. At its last plenum the Minsk Communists stated their intention to cease subordinating to the oblast party committee and to operate under direct subordination to the Belorussia Central Committee Communist Party.

The Minsk Oblast party committee deemed this decision of the Minsk city party committee as unjustified. It has decided to considerably broaden the rights of the city party committee in the sphere of organizational and financial activities and make it a juridical person with the right to run its own bank account. In addition, it was decided to transfer the administration of affairs over to the city party committee's operational costs, as well as all office equipment and transport.

Gagauz-Moldovan Situation Becomes 'Aggravated'

LD2508193990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As you know, the First Congress of People's Deputies from the Republic of Moldova's southern steppes—where 150,000 Gagauz are concentrated—have announced the creation of a Gagauz Republic within an overhauled Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its repudiation of the jurisdiction of the state authorities and government bodies of the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova.

Today we received a feature prepared by republican television:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent V. Skobiole] The sociopolitical situation in the republic has again become aggravated. The central press has carried a number of reports on the Gagauz issue, but these are printed without commentary and do not tie in with the true state of affairs. What can you add to this?

[V. Puskas, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the SSR of Moldova] I should note that in the past few days—without waiting for the official opinion of the Supreme Soviet of our republic—the central mass media in our country have indeed hastened to inform the whole country that a new state has appeared on the territory of the SSR of Moldova—the Gagauz Republic.

Its founders claim that it is prepared to sign a Union treaty right away. The decision of the Gagauz, who live in 28 rural villages spread over a territory whose area amounts to a few hundred square kilometres, is evidence of their political and legal ignorance and of the recklessness of the initiators. In essence, the decision is intended to change the state system in the republic by force and to break up the unity of its territory by force.

Is this business over the proclamation of a Union republic merely incidental? I do not think so. The conservative forces have joined forces and have resolved to deal a decisive blow at the perestroyka processes in our republic. The conservative forces in our republic—which we believe maintain ties with other conservative forces in the country—want to embroil our republic in civil war. These forces are getting in our way as we move to market relationships. They are trying to float totally senseless and sometimes downright absurd problems so as to deflect the republic's leaders—indeed the whole people—from tackling issues of vital importance. They are attempting to worsen the economic situation and in so doing to discredit the authorities in the eyes of the people. [end recording]

That, then, is the opinion of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Moldova. I should remind you what prompted the Gagauz deputies to break with their republic. Above all, there is what they believe to be the anti-Gagauz discrimination in the past year on the part of the top authorities and the government of the Republic of Moldova; the nonrecognition of the Gagauz people's right to an autonomous entity; and the purely political contention that, since the Moldovan legislature deemed the formation of the Moldavian SSR on 2 August 1940 to have been illegal, then the Gagauz consider themselves free of any state or legal obligations toward an illegal republic.

News Conference on Moldavian Parliament Session

90UN2654B Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA in Russian 1 Aug 90 pp 1, 3

[MOLDOVA-PRES correspondent A. Golya report: "Press Conference in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova Supreme Soviet]

[Text] A news conference for correspondents of central and republic newspapers and journals, national radio and television, and the MOLDOVA-PRES national press agency devoted to the first session of the republic's new parliament, which ended last Saturday, was held on 30 July in the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova Supreme Soviet. M.I. Snegur, chairman of the SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet, and I.D. Khadyrke and V.S. Pushkash, first deputy and deputy chairmen of the SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet, took part.

In his opening remarks the chairman of the Supreme Soviet dwelt on the results of the session, noting that the inhabitants of the republic are evaluating them variously. There is nothing surprising about this, he said. The times of "unanimous approval" are gone, and we all need to accustom ourselves to the standards which operate under the conditions of a democratic society. Nonetheless, the absolute majority is of the opinion that parliament has worked quite fruitfully and shown not only its democratic character but also efficiency. The most important legislative instruments laying a good foundation for the further democratization of our life and the creation of a state based on the rule of law which were adopted are themselves an indication of this. To speak, however, of the members of parliament's "efficiency factor," it needs to be considered that a large part of the time was spent on the preparation of laws and their thorough study in the Supreme Soviet's standing commissions. For this reason there were in the more than three months of the "marathon session" only 36 working days in the meeting hall.

The speaker commented on a number of legislative instruments adopted by the highest authority of the republic. These were primarily the declaration on sovereignty and the laws ensuing from it concerning the republic's political independence, the decree on state power, which will be of tremendous significance for the further democratization of our society, the concept of transition to a market economy and the economic laws, primarily the "Imports and Exports" Law elaborated in accordance with it. All these documents are intended to contribute to an enhancement of the population's living standard and the affirmation of the republic's independence and its prestige in the all-Union and international arena and to guarantee compliance with human rights.

The actual process of enactment of the laws was complex. And once again this is entirely normal: Parliament is, after all, a kind of copy of society, and the deputies defend the interests of their electorate. True, problems arose at times when some deputies displayed excessive "adherence to principle." In such cases the questions under discussion were taken off the agenda, and additional work was done on them, after which a reasonable compromise was found. And even when the "Soviet Moldavia" group of deputies walked out, a common language with them was ultimately found. There were in the final days of the session virtually no absentees from the hall without valid reason.

A large role in the cohesion of the deputies was assigned the conciliation commission. True, it was formed somewhat late and has not, perhaps, justified itself fully, but it still has a great deal of work to do at subsequent sessions. In our parliament, as in any other democratic parliament, there is a majority and an opposition. However, this will not impede their activity, and they will be able to solve all problems by way of constructive dialogue, they need only try to accommodate one another. Everyone has the right to legislative initiative, and any bill proposed by a group of 15 and more deputies will be considered and discussed by the remainder.

The inhabitants of the republic displayed unprecedented interest in the session. The fact that it was almost permanently directly broadcast by radio and that recordings were shown on national television contributed to this. While parliament was in session it received more than 2,000 telegrams and letters. On the one hand this is gratifying, on the other, puzzling. Many of them contain requests and complaints which should be addressed to the local authorities. A number of the laws and decrees of the Supreme Soviet which were adopted, incidentally, are designed to enhance the role of the local soviets and afford them greater independence and authority.

The leaders of the SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet described the plans for its future activity. Preparations will begin following the August recess for the fall session, which, it is planned, will be held in November-December. There are problems also. One of them is the fact that few deputies are consenting to work in the Supreme Soviet permanently, and for this reason it is necessary for the preparation of individual documents to enlist scholars, experts, and national economy specialists who are not members of the corps of deputies.

The press conference dealt with the relations of the press organs and parliament. For prompter coverage of the session the representatives of the media accredited to it requested their timely provision with the necessary material. They also inquired as to why the SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet had not yet ratified the Union law on the press and other news media, which takes effect as of 1 August. It was explained that this document would be provisionally ratified by a decree of the SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet prior to the enactment of a republic law on this question or ratification of the Union law at the next session.

In response to a question concerning expenditure on the running of the machinery of state it was reported that as a result of the abolition of many ministries and departments it was being reduced considerably. At the same time, however, expenditure on the maintenance of the Supreme Soviet in connection with its intensive and prolonged work would, naturally, increase. What the savings of these appropriations will be as a whole, the end of the year will show.

Will the republic have a new department in place of the State Committee for Sport, journalists asked. Yes, the government has drawn up a plan for the creation of a department for sport and youth. However, this does not mean that the former sports functionaries may expect "portfolios" once again. The new department, like, incidentally, other updated government structures also, will concern itself with specific activities.

Those present obtained answers to questions concerning the depoliticization of the authorities, the removal of enterprises, establishments, and organizations from party influence, the ratification of Union laws, parliament's foreign economic and foreign policy activity, transition to the market, and the pricing system, and explanations were given concerning the procedure of the application of the decree on power and a number of other documents.

It was emphasized at the press conference that the laws enacted by the Supreme Soviet had been drawn up on the basis of actual realities and that they take account of the interests of all citizens of the republic. In order to move forward it is essential that they be complied with strictly everywhere. Only by respecting the laws is it possible to achieve the set goals and build a democratic, sovereign state based on the rule of law.

Rukh Rally in Lvov Calls for Ukrainian Forces

LD2508205190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1915 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Report by correspondent Petr Sobchak in Lvov; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] A rally and picketing in front of the headquarters of the Red Banner Carpathian military district took place in Lvov on the initiative of the kray organization of Rukh. The speakers who came forward at it—from various political parties, individual citizens and former servicemen—spoke about the need to create Ukrainian national armed forces and about the recall of recruits called up from Lvov Oblast from military units situated outside the boundaries of the Ukraine so that they can continue their military service on the territory of the republic. Officers of the Soviet Army explained the complexity of the speedy resolution of this issue without the adoption of appropriate laws in the USSR and in the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

Those taking part in the rally and the picketing adopted a resolution in which they came out in favor of disbanding the call-up commission and calling for the call-up of recruits from Lvov Oblast during Autumn 1990 to be boycotted until the last citizen who is performing military service outside the borders of the Ukraine is returned.

City Soviets Chairmen Conference Held in Donetsk

LD2508204290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] The first interregional conference of the chairmen of the city soviets of major industrial centers opened in Donetsk today. Its task is to unite efforts for strengthening soviet power locally. The participants in the conference will exchange experience in the sphere of legislative initiatives and determine the stand of city soviets at the time of the transfer of the economy and society to market relations.

WFTU Leader Describes Visit to Chernobyl

LD2508012990 Moscow TASS in English 2105 GMT 24 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov]

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) General Secretary Ibrahim Zakaria said that the principal task for the WFTU was to rally international public opinion to provide assistance to the victims of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station.

Zakaria headed the WFTU delegation which stayed in the Soviet Union on August 20-24 to get a first-hand look at the consequences of the Chernobyl accident and conduct talks with the leaders of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) on launching an international campaign to extend all-round aid to the population of the affected areas.

The WFTU delegation included WFTU Secretary Jan Nemoudri and Alain Stern.

"At a news conference in Gomel," Zakaria went on, "a journalist asked us why the WFTU delegation arrived so late, four years after the accident. We accept this criticism. But one should not forget that the true scope of the tragedy was not made known to public at large for a long time."

"Until now, mostly the Soviet Government and the Soviet people have been engaged in cleaning the aftermath of the accident. But what we saw in the affected areas—deserted villages, cities and collective farms, the emotional pain of people—convinced us that no state in the world can repair on its own the damage caused. International assistance is needed."

"During the visit to the disaster area, the priority directions in which to provide aid were outlined to us. But even prior to this, we began to make a contribution within our capabilities. We brought along with us a small quantity of individual radiation monitors, using which people can determine the extent of the exposure to radiation," Zakaria said.

The WFTU delegation visited the Chernobyl nuclear power station, the cite of the accident, the cities of Kiev, Gomel and the affected areas in Gomel Region.

Electrical Malfunction Shuts Down Chernobyl Unit

PM2708151090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Valeriy Reshetnikov report from the USSR State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and the Nuclear Power Industry, under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Emergency Shutdown of Power Unit at Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station"]

[Text] Nikolay Shteynberg, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working

Practices in Industry and the Nuclear Power Industry, has reported that at 0730 Moscow time 27 August, the function of control of the third power unit at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station was partially disrupted due to a malfunction of an automated electrical system.

In full accordance with technological regulations, the personnel shut down the power unit. There were no violations of the limits for safe operation.

Journalist Describes 'Abuse' by Lvov 'Mob'

PM2408123590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Colonel V. Bogdanovskiy: "Persecution of Correspondent Continues"]

[Text] Lvov—I recall that the Lvov Oblast Soviet Presidium adopted an unprecedented decision to "move the PRAVDA correspondents' office out of the oblast." The presidium considered the activities of V. Drozd, PRAVDA's Lvov Oblast correspondent, to be harmful to the population, and his articles to be "slanderous." As was to be expected, the decision by the "oblast's elders" was the signal for the persecution of the journalist and provoked a wave of hooliganism against V. Drozd and PRAVDA. Here is what Viktor Andreyevich Drozd told me:

"Threatening phone calls, abusive letters, tongue-lashings from people in the street—it's all getting worse with every passing day. I've had rocks through my window several times. And my colleagues from the ZA VILNU UKRAINU newspaper and other oblast publications have been full of abuse, even though they are well aware that they are encouraging the mob to take action against me and my family. I associate my wife's sacking from her job with the oblast soviet decision. She is a historian. She has worked at the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Academy of Sciences' Social Science Institute for 20 years and now suddenly 'does not fit into the new structures.' The independent journalist V. Ivanova recently arrived from Kiev. She tried to look into everything objectively and almost came to grief for asking questions. Had the militia not intervened, her 'interview' with some young people would have ended in tears. That's the attitude around here. Last Tuesday there was a mob of about 100 outside the block where I live. It was being directed by a certain V. Furmanov. Abuse was shouted and there were malicious attacks. Of course, this abuse of a PRAVDA journalist turned into anti-Soviet and anticommunist hysteria."

That is how the democratic mechanism launched by the people's newly elected representatives "works" in Lvov. And it seems that PRAVDA's V. Drozd will be by no means the last victim of this mechanism.

Donbass Mine Accident Reported 24 Aug

LD2608080990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0600 GMT on 26 August carries a five-minute live report by Donbass correspondent Gennadiy Kandaurov on the rescue of miners at the Lenin Mine in Goirlovka, where an accident occurred on 24 August.

The accident happened at night, and no one knows any details. "A huge mass of rock crashed down. It blocked the ventilation and tracking passages, that is, the exits the miners could use to get out. They were completely cut off." Mine rescue workers had to bore three shafts to supply the trapped miners with air, water, warm clothing, medicine and other items. One miner who was badly injured died, despite the measures that were taken.

"Today, at 0825 [Moscow time] a passage was laid through the 12 meter-thick mine working layer, which led the mine rescue workers to the stone trap. The miners were saved. All except one are well. Only one miner is in poor condition; his legs were badly crushed. Now all miners are being sent for medical examination."

Rescue teams from Donetsk and other Donbass cities worked for two days to save the miners. Teams of 20 to 25 people worked underground in shifts. Many people were engaged on the surface as well. Everything was done to save the six trapped miners. Now a government commission is actively investigating the causes of the accident.

The Lenin Mine is one of the oldest mines in Donbass. It is over 90 years old. Manual labor such as was used at the beginning of the century still exists there today. No one should be allowed to forget how difficult the work of a miner is, the correspondent concludes.

Rescue Operation Ends

LD2608185890 Moscow TASS in English 1843 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Donetsk August 26 TASS—A rescue operation ended today at the Lenin coal mine of the Donets coal basin (Donbass), where an accident took place on August 23 [as received].

Three days ago a large section of the roofing collapsed at a depth of 1,000 meters. A huge rock mass crashed down, trapping a team of seven miners underground. All communication lines were cut, and nobody at the mine knew what had happened to their fellow-workers.

Several minutes after the accident rescue teams came to the mine and immediately began to drill a hole through the rock. After learning with tremendous satisfaction that the miners were alive, they fed air to the face and organised the supply of water, food and warm clothes. Simultaneously coal cutters were driving a roadway through which they could take out the trapped miners.

For more than two days rescue teams, miners and hundreds of other people were fighting to save the lives of the trapped miners, who behaved courageously, helped each other and believed that they would be rescued. One miner was killed in the accident.

Ukrainian Law on Economic Independence Published

904A0557A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 8 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

["Law of the Ukrainian SSR: On Economic Independence of the Ukrainian SSR"]

[Text] This law determines on the basis of the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Ukraine the content, purpose and basic principles of the economic independence of the Ukraine as a sovereign state and the mechanism of the management and regulation of the economy and social sphere and the organization of the financial-budget, credit and monetary system of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

Section One

General Provisions

Article 1. Content of the economic independence of the Ukrainian SSR

Assurance of the economic independence of the Ukrainian SSR is an essential condition of the state sovereignty of the Ukraine.

The Ukrainian SSR independently:

—defines the economic status and strategy of socioeconomic development in the interests of the people of the Ukraine

—exercises the management of economic processes for the purpose of the revival and comprehensive development of the social and cultural sphere and satisfaction of the needs of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR in material, social, and spiritual values, and protection of the environment

—determines the structure of the economy, the priority directions of economic activity, and the forms and methods of the management and control of social production

—implements financial-budget, monetary-credit, price, investment, scientific-technological, and foreign economic policy

All enterprises, establishments, and organizations located on the territory of the Ukraine constitute its national economic complex.

Article 2. Basic purposes of the economic independence of the Ukrainian SSR

The economic independence of the Ukrainian SSR is designed to ensure:

—living conditions of the people of the Ukraine worthy of contemporary civilization and satisfaction of their social and cultural requirements

—the subordination of social production to the requirements and interests of man and the creation of the conditions for free creative labor and the self-assertion of the personality

—the social protection of each citizen of the Ukraine

—the growth of national wealth

—the development of science and the attainment of a foremost engineering standard of production

—an enhancement of the prestige of enterprise and conscientious labor

—various opportunities for the free cultural, spiritual, and intellectual development of all citizens residing on the territory of the republic

—the achievement of ecological safety and the creation of healthy and safe living and work conditions.

Article 3. Basic principles of the economic independence of the Ukrainian SSR

The economic independence of the Ukrainian SSR is based on the following basic principles:

—ownership by the people of the republic of its national wealth and national income

—diversity and equality of forms of ownership and their official protection

—decentralization of ownership and denationalization of the economy

—complete economic independence and freedom of enterprise of all legal and physical persons within the framework of the laws of the Ukrainian SSR

—independence of the control of monetary circulation

—protection of the domestic market

Article 4. Ownership relations in the Ukrainian SSR

The basis of the economic independence of the Ukrainian SSR is formed by its people's ownership of the national wealth. The land, its interior, air space, water, and natural resources within the confines of the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, the natural resources of its continental shelf and exclusive (maritime) economic zone, and the scientific-technological potential located on the territory of the republic are the property of the people of the Ukraine.

The basic means of production in industry, construction, agriculture, transportation, and communications, the banks, credit institutions, and the property of trade, municipal, and other enterprises and also the housing and other property on the territory of the Ukraine pertain to the ownership of the people of the Ukraine.

The procedure of the creation and functioning on the territory of the Ukraine of new objects of ownership of the Soviet republics, other states, international organizations, and foreign legal persons and citizens is determined by legislation of the Ukrainian SSR.

Ownership in the Ukrainian SSR appears in the following forms:

—state
—collective
—individual (private and private labor ownership) and other forms of ownership provided for by the law

Ownership relations are determined and regulated on the basis of legislation of the Ukrainian SSR. The Ukrainian SSR guarantees the equality of all forms of ownership. The right of ownership is protected by law.

Section Two

Financial-Budget, Credit, and Monetary System of the Ukrainian SSR

Article 5. Financial-budget system of the Ukrainian SSR

The Ukrainian SSR has its own financial system.

The financial resources of the Ukrainian SSR consist of resources of the republic budget, the budgets of the local soviets of people's deputies, the resources of other organs of local self-government, extra-budget receipts and other financial resources.

The shaping of the revenue base of the republic and local budgets is based on tax policy, which is determined by legislation of the Ukrainian SSR and pursued in the republic independently.

The Ukrainian SSR may on a contract basis participate in specific financing from its budget of all-Union and interrepublic programs and joint projects and programs with foreign states and international organizations.

Article 6. Banking and monetary system of the Ukrainian SSR

The Ukrainian SSR independently organizes banking and monetary circulation on its territory.

The republic's banking system consists of the National Bank of the Ukraine, the Foreign Economic Bank, republic joint-stock and commercial banks, and other credit institutions of different forms of ownership. Each type of banking institution is economically independent and guided in its activity by current legislation.

The National Bank of the Ukraine is the highest credit and issuing institution of the Ukrainian SSR, is accountable to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, pursues in the republic a uniform official monetary-credit and currency policy, coordinates the activity of the banking system as a whole, organizes interbank payments, and exercises the functions of reserve bank.

The republic's credit resources are the banks' actual capital, the residual capital in the bank accounts of enterprises, establishments and organizations located on republic territory and of the citizens, capital in interbank payments, the cash savings of the population, and other monetary resources.

Under the conditions of introduction of its own unit of currency the National Bank of the Ukraine accumulates currency reserves for its currency backing and full foreign convertibility.

A market in stocks, bonds, and other securities is created in the Ukrainian SSR. The procedure of the creation and activity on the territory of the republic of joint-stock banks and other credit institutions, with the participation of foreign capital included, is determined by legislation of the Ukrainian SSR.

Article 7. Pricing

Pricing policy on the territory of the republic is within the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian SSR and is determined by its legislation.

The list of commodities and services whose prices and rates are subject to government regulation are determined by legislation of the Ukrainian SSR.

Section Three

Control of the Ukrainian SSR Economy

Article 8. General principles of government control of the economy

The Ukrainian SSR independently forms the system, composition, and structure of government control of the economy.

Government control of the republic's economy should provide for:

—the gradual transition to a market economy

—regulation of the economy by way of taxes, credit, quotas, licenses, penalties, and subsidies based on prescriptive enactments of the Ukrainian SSR without direct interference in the economic activity of the enterprises and organizations

—the elaboration, financing, and realization of national programs

—rational proportions of the use of national income providing for the efficient social and economic development of the republic

—protection of the economic interests of the Ukrainian SSR

Legislation of the Ukrainian SSR affords equal opportunities for the development of all forms of entrepreneurial activity and freedom of choice of methods of management and directions of the use of income and the realization of investments, encouraging competition, and removing monopolism in the production of goods and the rendering of services.

Intervention of state authorities in the activity of enterprises and other managing subjects is possible only in the instances and procedure determined by legislation of the Ukrainian SSR.

Basic research in the sphere of the social, natural, and technical sciences is financed from budget resources and credit.

The Ukrainian SSR independently organizes investment activity on its territory and contributes to the formation of an investment market and stock exchanges.

Activities of social and cultural policy are financed from republic and local budgets, from the resources of enterprises, establishments, and organizations and the population, and from other sources.

Article 9. Employment, Social Protection, and Regulation of the Income of the Population

The state creates the conditions for employment of the able-bodied population and ensures the social protection of the citizens.

The state regulates employment, facilitates the placement, training, and improvement of personnel and, if necessary, provides for the retraining of persons released as the result of a reorganization and upgrading of production.

The procedure of the hiring and dismissal of workmen and work and recreation conditions are determined by the enterprises on the basis of labor legislation of the Ukrainian SSR. The forms and system of pay are determined by the enterprises independently.

The employment of women, young people, and invalids is regulated by way of the creation of additional jobs, the development of work at home, and the introduction of flexible working hours, and also the granting of taxation benefits.

Citizens' income is regulated by differentiated progressive taxation in accordance with legislation of the Ukrainian SSR. The Ukrainian SSR guarantees its citizens a living wage.

Article 10. Protection of the environment and rational use of nature

The Ukrainian SSR independently regulates relations of the use of nature and environmental protection within the confines of its territory.

In accordance with legislation of the Ukrainian SSR, republic and local state authorities determine the ecological safety standards, the limits and norms of the use of nature, taxes on natural resources, and penalties for damage done to the environment, and issue permits, proceeding from ecological indicators, and impose a ban on the activity of enterprises, establishments, and organizations.

Article 11. Economic principles of local self-government

The development of all regions of the republic is catered for in the interests and on the initiative of the local population.

Economic activity is commenced and natural resources are used on the territory of the local Soviets of People's Deputies only with their permission.

The local Soviet of People's Deputies has an independent budget.

Enterprises, establishments, organizations, and production units located on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR pay a fee for the use of land and other natural and labor resources and a tax on currency earnings, and also pay taxes to the local budgets.

Decisions adopted within the competence of the local Soviet of People's Deputies are binding on the enterprises, establishments, and organizations, officials, and other persons operating on this territory.

Article 12. Foreign economic activity and interrepublic relations

The Ukrainian SSR independently exercises leadership of foreign economic activity, participates directly in the international division of labor, and develops economic cooperation with the Soviet republics and other states based on the principles of interest, equality, and mutual benefit.

Enterprises and organizations have the right to enter into direct economic relations and cooperate with enterprises and organizations of other Soviet republics and create with them joint ventures, associations, concerns, consortiums, unions, and other amalgamations.

International agreements of the Ukrainian SSR pertaining to economic activity are concluded in accordance with legislation of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ukrainian SSR forms its own state currency fund as part of the consolidated currency plan (balance of payments) of the republic, which takes account of receipts and payments in valid monetary units and foreign currency pertaining to the republic's overall international payments turnover.

The rates and procedure of the distribution of enterprise and organization currency proceeds from the export of commodities (operations, services) are determined by legislation of the Ukrainian SSR.

Enterprises and organizations located on the territory of the republic practice their foreign economic relations in accordance with legislation of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ukrainian SSR, as a sovereign state, participates in the activity of international economic organizations.

The government of the Ukrainian SSR determines the list of commodities whose export and importation are regulated by quotas and licenses.

The republic independently creates a customs system.

Section Four

Legal Liability for Violation of the Legislation Governing the Economic Independence of the Ukrainian SSR

Article 13. Principles of legal liability

The basic principles of legal liability for violation of the law on the economic independence of the Ukrainian SSR are the inevitability of the application of economic sanctions, legal protection of the subjects of economic relations, and mutual liability between the state and the participants in economic relations.

Article 14. Types of legal liability

Unlawful actions or inactivity in the sphere of the economy are a violation of the economic independence of the Ukrainian SSR and the interests of legal and physical persons and, depending on the modus operandi of the guilty parties, are punishable by law. Economic sanctions are the main type of liability. In the event of criminal actions having been perpetrated, proceedings are instituted under criminal law.

The law takes effect as of the day it is enacted.

[Signed] L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.
[Dated] Kiev, 3 August 1990.

Decree Calls for Drafting of Economic Laws

904A0557B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 8 Aug 90 p 1

["Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet decree: On Realization of the Law 'On Economic Independence of the Ukrainian SSR'"]

[Text] For the purpose of appropriate assurance of the effect of the law "On Economic Independence of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]" the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To bring current legislation of the Ukrainian SSR into line with this law.

All actions of the subjects of economic relations contrary to the state sovereignty and economic interest of the Ukrainian SSR are deemed invalid and are prohibited.

2. To instruct the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers to draw up within one month a concept and program of the Ukrainian SSR's transition to a controlled market economy.

3. To instruct the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers to prepare within two months draft legislative instruments on:

property; land; taxation; leasing; entrepreneurship; the enterprise; joint-stock companies; banks; the financial and credit system; securities and a stock market; revenue auditors; consumer protection; pricing; denationalization of property; labor; foreign economic activity; the customs service; nature conservation; and antitrust legislation.

4. To entrust supervision of Clause 3 of this decree to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the appropriate standing commissions.

5. That the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers and the standing commissions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet will submit the completed drafts for examination by the second session.

[Signed] L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.
[Dated] Kiev, 3 August 1990.

Sevastopol, Odessa Take Environmental Action

LD2608130990 Kiev International Service in English 2300 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] The soviet of the city of Sevastopol in the Crimea took radical steps to improve the ecological situation in that city. A waste processing plant is converted into gas furnaces instead of oil, and powerful dust filters will be installed in the quarries not far from the city. Alongside this the industries polluting the air will now face impressive fines and penalties.

The stance of the Sevastopol authorities was welcomed by the public, whereas in Odessa things ended up in a dispute. The showdown is between the city soviet and the local port plant producing ammonium. The city soviet decided to close down the dangerous production, whereas the workers of the plant came out in defense of their interests. Only the Ukrainian parliament will now clarify the dispute. However, both sides appealed earlier to the Supreme Soviet awaiting its solution.

Harvest Alert Declared in Rovno Oblast

LD2308124890 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Excerpts] The Rovno Oblast soviet has declared a state of emergency within the oblast's boundaries to last until 15 October. Our correspondent in Rovno, Oleksandr Ovramets, reports:

[Ovramets] This decision by the Rovno Oblast soviet notes that it was adopted in connection with the harvest. In practice it means that industrial workers, students, employees, and machinery and transport vehicles, on the call of urban and rayon soviets can be immediately dispatched to rural areas.

In conditions of financial accountancy and economic independence the inhabitants of towns are not in a hurry to provide assistance to the collective farmer on a voluntary basis. What is the conclusion in this connection? Obviously, the harvest must be saved. One only wonders why the alarm has been raised so late and why the decision does not contain even a single word on economic incentives for urban dwellers and on the need to introduce new form of relations between the town and village. As can be seen, they resort once again to the command-administrative style. [passage omitted]

It is envisaged that, if gathered in full, this year's harvest in the Ukraine will amount to 53 million tonnes of grain.

Obstacles Facing Plan for Crimean Tatars

LD2708120390 Moscow TASS in English 1147 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 27 TASS—The state commission investigating the complaints of Crimean Tatars cannot make progress if Union agencies continue to impede it, First Deputy Ukrainian Prime Minister Anatoliy Statinov, deputy chairman of the commission, told TASS.

"We believe that this is a problem for the whole country and that the Ukraine cannot cope with it alone," Statinov said.

"In reality, Union ministries and agencies on which the solution of problems depends, ignore the commission's instructions, instructions that they are obliged to heed. There are complaints against many Union bodies.

"Their negligent attitude to the commission's work is manifested even in the fact that new people, usually not well informed about the essence of the problem, are sent to its meetings every time. Meanwhile, permanent authorised representatives should attend the commission's meeting. As a result, the state programme for the voluntary return of Tatars cannot get off the ground for nearly a year."

"To this day the USSR Statistical Committee has not established the actual number of Tatars wishing to settle in the Crimea. And without the exact data the programme can only be approximate. In last year's population census, the number of Crimean Tatars in the USSR was just over 270,000. Now their population is said to be 350,000. Meanwhile, independent experts give figures that are twice or 2.5 times as large.

"It is difficult to restore order in the region until the State Committee for Labour, the Ministry of Justice and other departments work out a mechanism for Tatars' return. Unauthorised seizure of plots of land, also in sanitary zones, in areas around reservoirs and in ploughlands have become more frequent. Political pressure on government and managerial bodies is being stepped up. The local population is dissatisfied," Statinov said.

"Interference of the USSR Council of Ministers will apparently be needed. Otherwise the decrees will be mere scraps of paper," Statinov said.

'KGB Without Secrets' Program Aired 17 Aug

LD2508164190 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Listen to a broadcast called "The KGB Without Secrets." In the first part we acquainted you with how the cadres are selected for this service and with the prospects of its democratization on the basis of a multi-party system and glasnost. It also told you of the tasks faced by this organization in the fields of intelligence and counter-intelligence and of the range of interests of Western special services in our republic.

Correspondent Anatoliy Ostapenko talks with Yevhen Marchuk, first deputy chairman of the State Security Committee of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

[Begin recording] [Ostapenko] In the structure of your organization there is a directorate called The Directorate for Protecting the Soviet Constitutional Order. Do you not detect any contradiction here, an organ like yours exercising this prerogative?

[Marchuk] To be precise, this department is not charged with watching out for the Constitution. It does not control the activities of certain organizations, establishments, or individuals on behalf of the Constitution. Quite the reverse, its task is to protect the constitutional rights and freedoms. Take, for example, the struggle with terrorism. This is a wide and complex question.

[Ostapenko] Does your organization still employ the people who in the past persecuted Stus, Lukyanenko, and other dissidents who are now rehabilitated? Where is the guarantee that this practice will not be repeated once again?

[Marchuk] First, many of those employees are not with us anymore. Second, as to the persecution itself, Article 62 of the Criminal Code does not exist anymore, so this trend of work has simply ceased. If someone of the staff decided to violate the existing law, his action would become public very quickly. [passage omitted]

[Ostapenko] In the past, the KGB was wholly subordinated to the party apparatus, which could use your organization for its own benefits. That is why I asked you: Where is the guarantee that all this will not descend upon us once more?

[Marchuk] It is guaranteed by the fact that by today Nikolay Mikhaylovich Golushko has been confirmed in the post of chairman of the Ukrainian SSR KGB.

[Ostapenko] Confirmed at the Supreme Soviet session?

[Marchuk] Indeed. We ourselves are greatly interested in our direct subordination precisely to the Supreme

Soviet. Obviously, when the party Central Committee was our governing body, all our information was channeled there. Let me assure you that we did not exprience any direct interference in our work in the past either.

[Ostapenko] In the past we heard a great deal about dissidents and their persecution. Today, this wave, as it seems, has receded. Does it mean that the number of outright thinkers has decreased in our republic?

[Marchuk] Not at all. What has happened is that the political and spiritual situation has changed. But the main thing is that the legislative system has changed. Everything depends on what laws we are living under, what laws govern us. That is why we are waiting with such impatience the adoption of the bill on the activities of the KGB. This bill has already passed through several initial stages in the Supreme Soviet. I am well acquainted with its draft. By the way, its text will be open to all, fully open.

[Ostapenko] Do you not think a time has come for opening in all possible ways the secrets and archives of the KGB and thus assisting people in finding the truth about those who suffered in the past from the hands of your, let us put it this way, predecessors?

[Marchuk] In answering your question, I must, first of all, say that, regretfully as it is, we still do not have a law on archives. We ourselves are very interested in its adoption, although it probably sounds strange. Let me be frank. I myself have dug into thousands of cases of the innocently repressed people, many of whom have been rehabilitated or are being rehabilitated. Our current line is this: Everything we find during the re-examination of these cases is returned either to their relatives or to public organizations, such items as snapshots or personal documents and records. All this is returned to their next of kin and if these documents are of historic significance, they are handed over to appropriate institutions. That is what happened recently to the materials belonging to Vynnychenko, Rylskyy, Zatonskyy, and Yefremov. Now we have gathered all materials of the poet Stus and returned them. In a few days we will return literally everything that belonged to him.

[Ostapenko] Could you disclose the figure of the repressed in Ukraine and how many of them have been rehabilitated?

[Marchuk] I will tell you more. We intend not only to make public the final figure, but, together with the Memorial Association, to hand over all available names so that in every village or town, according to the decisions of the local authorities, they could prepare lists, obelisks or boards, with all the names written. To date, we have rehabilitated over 400,000 persons. Another 180,000 remain. This figure includes a considerable number who were repressed during the war or immediately afterward. Among them are people who really committed certain crimes. In any case, every specific case, the fate of every person is very scrupulously investigated. In other words, we do not resort to a campaign-like attitude to avoid new violations.

[Ostapenko] As far as I know, [there were] very many people, quote, not hundreds of thousands but millions of the repressed, all those who were simply packed into railway wagons and transported to Siberia or to the Far East. What do you say to this?

[Marchuk] In our archives is missing the data on the famine [in 1933], on the dekulakization. People think we keep all this in our files. At times, if a person was dekulakiside and then repressed, which happened quite often, then we can produce some information about him. In such cases we help to establish justice, we get material compensation or allocate housing, etc. What concerns the compulsory deportation of people, here as well we lack the full picture and the full list. In other words, what we can do is to provide reliable information only about those people who were repressed by the NKVD [Peoples Commissariat of Internal Affairs. [end recording]

[Announcer] You are listening to a broadcast called "The KGB Without Secrets," with the participation of Yevhen Marchuk, first deputy chairman of the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR.

[Begin recording] [Ostapenko] Tell us, please, whether our listeners in the West could get from you some information either on their relatives or acquaintances.

[Marchuk] Yes, they could. If some of them would like to make inquiries about their relatives, they can apply directly to an appropriate oblast directorate of the KGB, say, in Lvov, Ternopol, or Donetsk. Or, they can turn to oblast procurator's offices.

[Ostapenko] Thank you. Here is another question. Our listener from Canada, Mr. Nahalyuk, asks us why the city and oblast of Ivano-Frankovsk remain closed to visitors from abroad? What are you doing that will enable our foreign guests to move freely within our republic?

[Marchuk] Why is Ivano-Frankovsk closed? It is not a great secret—around it there are many military objects. This is the whole secret. Not only here, but also abroad there are zones forbidden for foreigners to enter. However, I am pleased that I can make your listener from Canada happy: Now the city and oblast of Ivano-Frankovsk are open for foreign visitors. Very soon this will apply to a majority of rayons in Lvov Oblast.

[Ostapenko] You already mentioned the KGB works in the fields of intelligence and counter-intelligence. It is also engaged in other matters within the country, particularly in special criminal cases.

[Marchuk] Yes, we have an investigatory department engaged in the cases falling into our terms of reference. Today, 15 articles of the Criminal Code of our republic fall under the competence of the State Security Committee. There is a string of other articles, about 18 in all, which are the joint responsibility of the KGB and the Procurator's Office or the Ministry of the Interior. These are articles that cover terrorism, espionage, treason, desertion, wrecking, smuggling, disclosure of state secrets. Most of our efforts today are directed against smuggling and terrorist acts, not against committed terrorist acts, but against those that surface in form of the threats of terrorist character. Unfortunately, over the last two years threatening acts have increased. They are mainly addressed to people's deputies of all levels.

A few words about countering espionage. At times we are asked: How many spies have you caught? In this question there is a slightly hidden real meaning: Is there a need for your organization? In other words, if you have not detected and caught 20, 30, 40 spies, then what is the KGB doing all the time? Let me tell you that our main task is not to discover and bring to court this or that person, but to warn in good time the concerned person, to prevent them from committing a crime.

[Ostapenko] Very often our listeners write in their letters that in Western newspapers they adhere to the view that in our country, and in the Ukraine in particular, every foreigner is closely watched by a KGB operative.

[Marchuk] I can calm down your correspondents. Up to 99.999 percent of foreigners are not watched at all. We have an absolute knowledge that the overwhelming majority of foreigners come here with good intentions. It would not be true and not sincere on my part if I said that we ignore foreigners altogether. If we pay attention to some foreigner, then it is only after having an information that he or she comes here with (?a purpose which is far from being noble). [end recording]

Caucasus

Abkhaz SSR Proclaims Republican State Sovereignty

LD2508202190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2015 GMT 25 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Announcer I.D. Kisilev] In Sukhumi today a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Abkhaz Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] proclaimed the state sovereignty of the Abkhaz Soviet Socialist Republic.

In the adopted declaration, it is stressed that the citizens of the republic, of all nationalities, comprise the people of Abkhaziya. The bearer of sovereignty and the source of state power in the Abkhaz SSR is its multiethnic people. The operation of law acts of the USSR and of the Georgian SSR that violate the sovereignty of the Abkhaz SSR and that are in contradiction to its laws are suspended by the higher bodies of the legislative and executive authorities of the Abkhaz SSR. The declaration adopted at the session of the Supreme Soviet of Abkhaziya is a basis for the republic's new constitution, and determines Abkhaziya's position in the conclusion of the Union treaty and a treaty with the Georgian SSR. The session also adopted a decision on the legal guarantees for the defense of the statehood of Abkhaziya, as well as on the concept of economic independence. We have not yet received a reaction to this document from Tbilisi.

Georgia Annuls Decision

LD2708152390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1416 GMT 27 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Tengiz Grigalashvili]

[Text] Tbilisi, 27 Aug (TASS)—The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium canceled on Sunday decisions of the Supreme Soviet of Abkhaziya directed toward the achievement of state independence for that autonomous republic, which is part of Georgia.

The parliament of the Union republic deemed the adoption on 25 August by the Abkhaz parliament of a resolution "on legal guarantees on the protection of Abkhazian statehood" and the declaration of its independence "a groundless attempt to alter the national, state, administrative, and territorial system of the Georgian SSR." It declared them "invalid and contrary to the constitution of the Georgian SSR and Abkhazian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] and also to the USSR Constitution."

The adoption by the autonomous republic's legislators of sovereignty documents has worsened relations between the Georgians and Abkhazians, who have lived in one land for centuries. Already, two days later, many thousands of people took part in meetings and protest gatherings in the capital of Abkhaziya, Sukhumi.

The advocates of state independence for Abkhaziya do not have a firm majority in its Supreme Soviet. On Saturday only 72 of the 140 deputies attended a session of the Abkhazian parliament. The session was originally to have been held on 28 July, but a quorum was not obtained.

Earlier, 582 deputies at all levels of the Abkhazian ASSR (of the Supreme Soviet of Georgia, Abkhaziya, and the local soviets) passed a declaration condemning the "separatist forces" that are trying to defend their "one-sided interests" by an "open confrontation between the Georgian, Abkhazian, and other peoples that have lived together for centuries."

On Sunday, the head of the Georgian parliament, Givi Gumbaridze, appeared on Georgian television and gave his reasons for regarding the decisions made in Sukhumi as legally incomptent and unfounded.

Georgian, Moscow Officials Discuss Union Treaty

LD2508173490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1427 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 25 Aug (TASS)—A consultation took place here today between the working group of the Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers and representatives of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] on issues of preparing the Union treaty.

O.V. Kvilitaya, first deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, and N.A. Medzmariashvili, permanent representative of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers at the USSR Council of Ministers, expressed their points of view on the concepts of the treaty at the meeting.

R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, N.N. Gritsenko, and V.G. Kucherenko, chairmen of commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Chambers and V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, informed the envoys from Georgia about the meetings and consultations which had taken place with representatives of other Union republics and the conclusions which had resulted from them.

The sides on the whole came out in favor of renewing the Union on a voluntary and equal basis and agreed to continue the consultations.

Railroad Blockade Reported in Abkhaz SSR

LD2608103190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Traffic has again come to a halt on the railway passing through Abkhazia [Abkhaz Soviet Socialist Republic]. Members of informal groups have this time blockaded Sukhumi. The blockade started at exactly midnight. This, to put it mildly, nonparliamentary method is being used to protest a decision on sovereignty adopted by the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet. The incident has again caused a number of problems which are going to be difficult to resolve, including what is to happen with the passengers. There are now more than 3,000 of them who have been forced to interrupt their journey to Sochi. You will recall that there was a similar blockade at Samtredia only recently. We do not know how long this blockade will last.

Armenian Plenum Moves Congress Date to 25 Sep

PM2308101690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Bablumyan under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Armenian Communist Party at the Crossroads"]

[Text] Yerevan—In the light of the prevailing situation, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum has decided to bring forward the date of the Armenian Communist Party Congress. It will begin its work on 25 September.

It is quite obvious that, having ceased to play its customary role as the ruling, guiding force, the republic's party organization is experiencing a crisis and is hurriedly mastering a different role—that of opposition party. The speeches made during the debates that unfolded following the report delivered by V. Movsisyan, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, on the political situation in the republic indicate that this process is agonizing and is not as yet giving grounds for optimistic forecasts. One can, on the one hand, observe confusion among Central Committee members provoked, in particular, by the Armenian Pannational Movement's convincing victory in the parliamentary elections and, on the other, unsuccessful attempts to get over the shock and to reaffirm their own validity by means of rousing calls. However, no specific ways out of the crisis have been proposed.

However, the alternative program proposed to the plenum by the Armenian Communist Party (Independent), which is close in terms of substance to social democratic parties, does show some prospect of doing this. To be extremely concise, the program for a reformed party is based on national interests and the paramountcy of panhuman values.

The plenum satisfied the request of two Central Committee secretaries and the first secretary of Yerevan Party Gorkom [City Party Committee] to be relieved of their posts and their duties as members of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. It is typical that the Central Committee secretaries who resigned, without considering it necessary to give a self-critical assessment of their work, only said that they tried to escape as quickly as possible.

The plenum expressed support for the republic's new parliament. It was decided to hold a partywide referendum on the Armenian Communist Party's status and a new name for it.

Armenian Declaration of Independence Published

NC2508104090 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 24 Aug 90

["Text" of the "declaration on the independence of Armenia" adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Republic in Yerevan on 23 August—read by Armenian Supreme Soviet Deputy Aram Manukyan]

[Text] Declaration on the independence of Armenia:

The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet expressing the unanimous will of the people of Armenia;

Conscious of its responsibility for the fate of the Armenian people as it carries out the realization of the aspirations of the entire Armenian people and the restoration of historical justice;

Proceeding from the principles of the universal declaration on human rights and from the universally recognized norms of international law;

Exercising the right to national self-determination;

Basing itself on the 1 December 1989 joint decision of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and the National Council of Nagorno-Karabakh on the reunification of the Armenian SSR and Nagorno-Karabakh;

Furthering the democratic legacy of the independent Armenian republic established on 28 May 1918; and

Pursuing the objective of the creation of a democratic and legal system,

Declares the start of the process of the establishment of independent statehood.

1. The Armenian SSR is hereby renamed the Armenian Republic, or Armenia for short. [applause]

The Armenian Republic has its own flag, emblem, and anthem.

2. The Armenian Republic is a sovereign state vested with the supremacy of state power, independence, and authority.

Only the Armenian Republic's constitution and laws are in force in the entire territory of the Armenian Republic.

3. The Armenian state derives its powers from the people of the Armenian Republic, who exercise their power directly through representational bodies in conformity with the constitution and laws of the Armenian Republic.

The Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet has the exclusive right to speak in the name of the republic's population.

4. Citizenship in the Armenian Republic is conferred on all citizens living in the territory of the Armenian Republic.

Diaspora Armenians have the right to citizenship in the Armenian Republic.

The citizens of the Armenian Republic enjoy its protection and support.

The Armenian Republic ensures the free development of its citizens with equal legal rights, regardless of their national, racial, or religious affiliations.

5. The Armenian Republic hereby establishes its own armed forces, internal troops, and state and public security bodies subordinate to the Supreme Soviet to ensure its security and the inviolability of its borders.

The Armenian Republic has a right to its share of the USSR armaments.

The Armenian Republic itself decides on the status of the military service of its citizens.

Army units and military bases and facilities of other countries can only be deployed or established on the Armenian Republic's territory through the decision of its Supreme Soviet.

The armed forces of the Armenian Republic can only be employed through the decision of its Supreme Soviet.

6. As an independent entity subject to international law, the Armenian Republic conducts an independent foreign policy, establishes direct relations with other states and with USSR national-state formations, and participates in the activities of international organizations.

7. The Armenian Republic's national wealth, its land, underground resources, airspace, water, and other natural resources, and its economic, intellectual, and cultural potential are the property of its people. The status of their ownership, use, and disposition is determined by the laws of the Armenian Republic.

The Armenian Republic has the right to its share of the USSR's national wealth, including its share of gold, diamond, and foreign currency assets.

8. The Armenian Republic decides upon its economic management principles and status on the basis of diverse forms of ownership; it establishes its own currency, national bank, financial and credit system, taxation, and customs services.

9. The Armenian Republic ensures the freedom of speech, the press, and conscience in its territory; the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers; a multiparty system and the equality of political parties; and the depoliticization of the security bodies and of the armed forces.

10. The Armenian Republic ensures the use of the Armenian as the state language in all spheres of the republic's life and creates its own educational, scientific, and cultural structure.

11. The Armenian Republic supports the effort to bring about the international recognition of the Armenian genocide committed in the Ottoman Turkey and in western Armenia in 1915.

12. This declaration serves as the basis for the formulation of the constitution of the Armenian Republic, for the introduction of amendments and addenda to the existing constitution, for the activities of the state bodies, and for the formulation of new legislative acts of the republic. [applause]

Armenia Decides To Change National Symbols

Contest To Decide New Flag

NC2508115090 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0500 GMT 25 Aug 90

["Decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Republic on the emblem and anthem of the Armenian Republic;" from the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] In order to create an emblem and anthem for the Armenian Republic in line with the text of the declaration of the independence of Armenia and with the principles on the declaration of statehood mentioned therein, the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Republic decides:

To instruct the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers to work together with the relevant standing commissions of the republic's Supreme Soviet to organize a competition for the creation of a state emblem and anthem for the Armenian Republic, and to submit a proposal to the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet within three months based on the outcome of the competition.

Decree on Tricolor Flag Cited

NC2508115190 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0500 GMT 25 Aug 90

["Decree of the Armenian Republic on the state flag of the Armenian Republic;" from the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] On the basis of Article 1 of the declaration of independence of Armenia [words indistinct], the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Republic decides:

1. The state flag of the Armenian Republic is the tricolor of red, blue, and orange in three equal stripes. The proportion of the length to the width of the flag is 2:1.

2. To introduce the relevant amendments emanating from this decree to the Armenian Republic's constitution and laws.

3. To implement this decree from the moment of its endorsement.

Decree on Name Change Cited

NC2508115290 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0500 GMT 25 Aug 90

["Decree of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic on the renaming of Soviet Armenia;" from the review of KHORHDRADYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] Based on Article 1 of the declaration of the independence of Armenia, the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic decides:

1. To rename the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic as the Armenian Republic, or Armenia for short.

2. To consider the present Supreme Soviet session as the first convocation of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Republic.

3. To implement this decree from the moment of its endorsement.

New Flag Raised 25 Aug

NC2608082890 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0500 GMT 26 Aug 90

[From the review of KHORHDRAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Excerpts] On August 25, the red, blue, and orange Armenian flag—the tricolor emblem of independent Armenia—was raised over the building of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet.

Thousands of Yerevan residents had gathered to be present at the flag changing ceremony. They were accompanied by the members of the new parliament.

The people listened attentively to the speech by Armenian Supreme Soviet President Levon Ter-Petrosyan who congratulated the Armenian people on this historic event and the restitution of their statehood. [passage omitted]

The Armenian state symphony orchestra then played our national anthem while the tricolor Armenian flag was raised over the building, thus [word indistinct] the young democracy which is taking its first steps in Armenia.

The gathering then went to the city's central square and the government house where the new flag was also raised. Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers, addressed the people.

24 Aug Armenian Supreme Soviet Session Reported

NC2508121790 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 24 Aug 90

["Report from the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Republic by Stepan Marukyan and Khrayr Chamchyan"—radio headline; recorded]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified Reporter] During this morning's session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, referred to the misleading reports which appeared on the "Vremya" program, in the central press, particularly today's issue of IZVESTIYA, and in other mass media organs and pointed out that the ultimate aim of such reportage is to discredit our newly elected government. Levon Ter- Petrosyan noted that in order to put an immediate stop to the dissemination of such disparaging and misleading reports, the relevant bodies have been instructed to analyze every such misleading reports and file a protest accompanied by evidence pertaining to the given case.

The morning session also heard a report from Ktrich Sardaryan, chairman of the Commission for the Establishment of Independent Statehood and National Policy, about his unofficial visit to Moscow.

Deputy Eduard Grigoryan then presented the declaration on Armenia's independence after the relevant commission had completed the final corrections and partial editorial improvements to the declaration. Nevertheless, a number of new addenda were introduced. People's Deputy Aram Manukyan read out the final text of the declaration of Armenian independence. [passage omitted] The endorsement of the historical declaration of the independence of Armenia was received by the session with a prolonged standing applause. [passage omitted]

During the afternoon session, the deputies elected the members and chairmen of the Supreme Soviet's standing commisions. A seven-member human rights commission was formed.

After the main recess, the state flag of Armenia at the Supreme Soviet hall was taken down. The session continued its deliberations and decided to set up an 11-member foreign relations commission. During the evening session, the results of the closed and secret voting for the chairmen of the three commissions were announced. Deputy Rafayel Kazaryan was elected chairman of the Commission on Education, Science, Language, and Culture. The session confirmed the election results announced by the auditing commission and adopted a relevant decision. As you may remember, dear radio listeners, Deputies (?Kin) Balayan and Samuel Mayilyan were proposed as candidates for the chairmanship of the Legal Affairs Commission. Following a closed and secret vote, neither obtained the necessary majority and so no chairman of the commission was elected. The session confirmed the results of a secret and closed ballot announced by the auditing commission and reached a similar verdict as regards the candidacies of Khosrov Arutyunyan and Arshak Sadoyan for the chairmanship of the Local Self-Government Commission.

During the second session in the evening, a number of announcements were made.

Friends, the first session of the first convocation of the Supreme Soviet of Armenian Republic will continue its deliberations tomorrow.

Yerevan Raykom Replaces First Secretary

NC2608112890 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 0700 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] The Yerevan Rayon Party Committee [raykom] has held a plenum to discuss organizational matters. The plenum relieved Grigor Asatryan of his duties as raykom first secretary and bureau member because of his assigment to other duties. Stepan Poghosyan, head of Armenia's State (?Broadcasting) Committee, was elected first secretary and bureau member of the Yerevan raykom.

Recent Yerevan Events, Ter-Petrosyan Viewed

90US1264A Moscow TRUD in Russian 14 Aug 90 p 2

[Article by TRUD correspondent G. Karapetyan: "The Critical Hour—Armenia Before and After the Presidential Ukase"]

[Text] Yerevan—Phone calls of friends and relatives between cities were becoming increasingly alarming with each passing day—"Are you alive and well? Aren't you scared to go out into the streets? Be wary of the 9th of August!"

August 9th was the original date marking the end of a designated 15-day period for the disarmament of illegal armed formations, and confiscation of weapons in the event they were not turned in. We now know this period was extended at the request of Union republics, but at that time the situation in Armenia was truly at a peak of intensity. Then too—about a dozen armies and headquarters have been formed in the republic! It is understood that walking and driving around once peaceful Yerevan is risky and dangerous, by day as well as night. Firefights, explosions, theft and seizure of weapons, ammunition, and transportation—all such extraordinary events are becoming almost commonplace...

Why then was the ukase of the USSR president on "disarmament," entirely lawful and humane it would seem, received negatively for the most part in Armenia?

On the very day the ukase was signed—25 July—TRUD's correspondents' center in Yerevan became the next victim of "armed formations": In the very center of the Armenian capital, in broad daylight right in front of a multitude of passers-by, the driver of a Volga leased by our publication from the local taxi depot was forced to abandon it as he faced the barrel of a hunting rifle. The vehicle was "confiscated," as it were, for the needs of the "Fedayeen" ("defenders of the people" in Russian).

Stealing vehicles has become a regular occurrence today—the number of "booty" items is already approaching 2,000 and they include police and ambulance Zhigulis, Army UAZ [Ulyanovsk Motor Vehicle Plant] vehicles. Things have reached the point where they are taking helicopters from local aviators. The police are doing practically nothing.

Today it is rare good fortune for Yerevan people to see policemen in uniform. After the initial daring and methodical attacks on the city vehicle inspection station and rayon internal affairs section, we saw an instantaneous drop in the frequency of appearance of the arm of the law. This is understandable on the human level—who would have any desire to receive an increment to his 200-ruble-per-month salary in the form of a bullet in the head? I might also justify the inaction of local police in the face of armed groups due to the fact that policemen do not have the right to use their weapons in densely populated areas—and here they are right in Yerevan to take away pistols (about a thousand are said to have been seized). Imagine how dumbstruck I was to see policemen those same days with automatic weapons across their shoulders, vigilantly guarding the entire block of the majestic residence of the Communist Party Central Committee and the republic institutions of government. By the way, the large fleet of black Volgas was shut down in the garage for almost a month due to fear of armed robbery—and this is when the apparatchiks experienced a "fancy" to use city metro scheduling and other forms of public transportation in Yerevan to suit themselves...

And then—you can believe this or not—three days after the TRUD vehicle was stolen, a miracle took place which to this day cannot be explained—it was returned without a scratch, parked by the entranceway to one of the rayon internal affairs section offices in Yerevan with this apologetic explanation heard by someone who was at the scene: "had to go to a friend's funeral..."

I spent all these July and August days in the press gallery of the republic parliament which, postponing adoption of multi-article provisional regulations and a declaration of independence (or sovereignty—the exact title of the document now under discussion is still not determined), and putting off formation of a new cabinet of ministers and other important issues, set about actively discussing the presidential ukase. Every day prior to and following the ukase, new distressing news would arrive, all in the same vein—firefights, explosions, theft of state property and service weapons... A parliamentary provisional commission to exercise operational control of the situation in the republic developed recommendations with respect to this problem being endured so painfully by the local population.

In order to try to explain the "history of the problem," as they say, I will cite the argument—entirely typical—of the head of this commission, a young deputy (they comprise an overwhelming majority in the hall) named Grant Khachatryan, chairman of the "Armenian Union of Constitutional Law" (one of the influential political organizations in the republic): "Recall 24 November 1988, when the previous republic Supreme Soviet was in session and an urgent—in no way justifiable—curfew was put into effect in Yerevan. This was the decisive turning point in people's consciousness..." And further: "The defenselessness of the Armenian population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast created a feeling of the necessity for self-defense throughout Armenia. This feeling was intensified by interethnic clashes all along the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan, following which some state weapons and ammunition were used in uncontrolled looting...."

I believe I will be expressing not just my own opinion if I say that the presidential ukase of 25 July was nonetheless late—perhaps by half a year. It was directed (as was often the case previously) more toward fighting the consequences than the fundamental causes of that extreme situation, which had taken shape not only in Armenia. It is no coincidence, I believe, that the parliaments of the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Moldova, after proclamation of the July ukase, have been discussing plans to create their own national armies...

Until that old Gordian knot of the interethnic tangle of contradictions is untied, such measures on the part of the center and its authorized representatives in the localities designed to exert pressure when unforeseen consequences arise, I believe, will not be popularly received by a significant portion of the population of any republic. Generally speaking, I was not surprised when first a special commission of deputies, and later the highest, the supreme organ of the republic—the Armenian parliament—decided to suspend the validity of the ukase on our territory.

A situation with no way out? No. There are ways to resolve it. One of the most likely, they say here, is negotiations with the center and the Army, with preliminary subordination of all self-defense detachments to the republic parliament. Armed groupings which then remain will be considered criminal. It is clear to all that the "Tbilisi syndrome" must not be repeated anywhere, at any time—neither on the part of the Army nor of the population. And here we have eight women, Armenian people's deputies, who have appealed to the mothers of servicemen in the Soviet Army, calling upon them to oppose the use of Army and Internal Troops in fulfillment of the presidential ukase in various regions of the country, including Armenia...

"Le-von! Le-von!"—people chanted many hours on end, not in the stadium, and not at a concert. The island containing the building in which the Armenian parliament meets in session was surrounded by a mass of people. Levon Ter-Petrosyan, leader of the Armenian Pannational Movement (AOD), sustained a confident victory after four rounds of secret voting. His rival was the leader of the republic Communist Party, V. Movsisyan.

Immediately after announcement of the results of the marathon elections, the new chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet traveled by private Zhiguli, under strong bodyguard, from the AOD to Theater Square, where he decided after all to speak as chairman of the governing body of the movement and "Karabakh" Committee. We can say that it is from this very square, now renamed Freedom Square, beginning with the many thousands of rallies of 1988, that young people came out onto the political stage. Here they went through an "accelerated course" of self-formation. But at the end of that same 1988, Levon and his confederates on the "Karabakh" Committee were, as we know, arrested. Incidentally, many here believe that the procuracies—both Union and republic—could at least apologize to the "dissidents of the perestroyka era." Stealthily, in the deep of the night, they took them out of prison and let them go home....

And now—from "dissident" to chairman of the parliament. The new leader is 45 years old. He completed graduate work in Leningrad, defended his dissertation in Eastern studies, has mastered 10 "living" and "dead" languages. He is a member of the Armenian Writers Union and... an honorary citizen of Paris—with a diploma awarded by Jacques Chirac.

The new chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet made his first official visit to holy Echmiadzin, where he received the blessing in the name of the Apostolic Church of all Armenians. One day later the local press published the first political statement of L. Ter-Petrosyan: "The Armenian authorities are capable of accomplishing, in a short period of time and through their own efforts, all tasks relating to the internal life of the republic and stabilization of its sociopolitical situation, under the condition that there be no external interference."

At a session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, Levon Akopovich Ter-Petrosyan stated (local newspapers later reported this) that on the morning of 7 August, USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev phoned him from the Crimea, congratulated him on his election to such a high position, and expressed his hope for the consolidation of all progressive, democratic forces the republic so greatly needs in this period of deep crisis. The telephone conversation lasted 12-13 minutes according to Ter-Petrosyan. But this was sufficient to fully ease the heightened tension in the republic which had almost reached the point of mass psychosis in a number of places...

There is no concealing the fact that following publication of the Ukase on Disarmament, a number of deputies, "lovers of political television theater," indulged in attacks and unfounded accusations against the USSR president. And that is when the words of the future chairman of the Armenian parliament resounded, stating that from now on Mikhail Sergeyevich should be seen by us in Armenia as a partner with whom mutually advantageous solutions must be jointly worked out....

Armenia faces a multitude of urgent problems and among them—perhaps one of the most difficult—is resolving the issue of subordination to the parliament of the many ethnic military formations. Until this problem is resolved there will be no calm in the republic. A few days ago, an attack was attempted by one of the armed groups against the republic parliament. Measures were taken—now the building is reliably guarded by unified security detachments of the KGB, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Armenian People's Patrol.

Time moves on. The new chairman has already managed to travel to Moscow, where he has met with N.I. Ryzhkov, V.V. Bakatin, and V.A. Kryuchkov, as well as with R.I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. The key topic of all conversations has been ways to achieve the swiftest stabilization of the situation in Armenia, for only in a stable environment will the republic be able to feed the hungry, provide shelter to the homeless, and comfort the sorrowful.

The new Armenian parliament has been functioning for three weeks—the credit of popular confidence is still within its strength.

Armenian-Soviet Talks on Federal Treaty Reported

NC2708105690 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] A preliminary consultative meeting took place between the representatives of the USSR Supreme Soviet and of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet on 23 August in Moscow on the concepts of new federal treaty.

The representatives of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet explained their stance and (?views) concerning the future union of sovereign states. The Armenian delegation was made up of Sardaryan, chairman of the Armenian parliament's standing commission for the establishment of independent statehood and national policy, and People's Deputies of the Armenian Republic Vardanyan, Karapetyan, and Kocharyan.

Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of Nationalities; Gritsenko, [names indistinct] and Tarazevich, chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions, informed the Armenian side that similar consultations have also taken place with representatives of other republics and agreement has been reached to continue the preparatory work for the drafting of the Union treaty.

An interesting exchange of opinions took place on the principles of the organization of the procedure for the drafting of the federation treaty.

Armenian Interior Minister Criticizes Report

NC2708112690 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Armenian Internal Affairs Minister Levon Galstyan has appealed to the editorial board of IZVESTIYA, noting that some errors and distortions have been allowed to slip into the report on the latest incidents in Transcaucasia entitled (?"Armenia, Troops, Five-Km Zone") published in IZVESTIYA on 24 August. These have caused a strong negative reaction in the republic. For example, the article claims that more than 50 extremists Armenian guerrillas were killed and more than 100 wounded at [name indistinct] (?in Baganis-Ayrum). According to the figures of the Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry, during the (?clashes) between 19 and 23 August, seven people died and 36 were injured in Noyemberyanskiy Rayon, among whom were three residents of the rayon.

The article then reports that during the visit of Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, to the border regions, unidentified persons attempted to (?seize) an accompanying armored car which had remained behind the convoy due to [word indistinct]. The chairman of the Armenian Supreme

Soviet visited the border regions in a helicopter and so he could not have been accompanied by an armored car.

There are other cases of distortion of facts, but the way the article was worded does not allow similar categorical refutation.

The absence of analysis of the causes of this negative and tragic development and the obvious anti-Armenian slant of the article—which in our view only serves to instigate interethnic enmity—are conspicuous.

The article was negatively received by the Armenian people, who unequivocally regard it as an attempt by the center to discredit the new democratic government of Armenia before the international public and to destabilize the situation in the republic.

The unconfirmed and distorted reports do not help the paper maintain its high reputation as the sole source of reliable and accurate information.

We would hope that the editorial board of IZVESTIYA will publish an appropriate [word indistinct].

The Armenian Committee for State Security has also issued a similar statement.

Armenian Economic Relations Decision Reported

NC2608141990 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 0700 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] The press recently reported the decision by the Armenian Council of Ministers on complementary measures to encourage the republic's economic organizations in foreign economic activities. The republic's businesses and experts received this decision very warmly.

Reporting on the decision, Finance Minister Dzhanik Dzhanayan pointed specifically at the sad state of Armenia's foreign exchange, as well as at the central economic administration's policy of plundering. With the successful exports of goods from Armenia, for example, ferrous metals, the Soviet Government deposits only two percent of the entire sum received in our foreign exchange reserves.

The decision that has been adopted is primarily aimed at implementing foreign economic realtions in order to accelerate reconstruction in the earthquake-stricken areas. In the view of the finance minister, apart from its economic benefits, the decision will also help to ease the domestic tension and will boost our people's morale.

Report Views Applications for Special Subunits

NC2508123690 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 24 Aug 90

["Statement issued by the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Commission on Defense and Internal Affairs"—radio headline]

[Text] The Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Commission on Defense and Internal Affairs announces that the work on enlistment in the special subunits attached to the Internal Affairs Ministry established by the republic's Council of Ministers on 21 August 1990 has begun.

Some 800 citizens had applied to serve in these subunits by 23 August. They have been sent for medical examinations and the (?applications) of 300 of them are close to completion.

The commission appeals to all citizens of Armenia to whom the security of the homeland and the population is dear, regardless of their political and party affiliations, to apply to the commission to enlist in the special subunits. The address is: Yerevan City, Armenian Supreme Soviet, Marshal Bagramyan Avenue.

Tension Continues on Armenia-Azerbaijan Border

Area Seen as 'Relatively Quiet'

LD2408145990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] More about the situation in Stepanakert. The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh area where the state of emergency operates and in the adjacent rayons of Azerbaijan can be called relatively quiet today, although, such days are rather rare on this suffering soil. For example, today servicemen of Internal Troops and employees of the operations and investigation group attached to the country's interior ministry [MVD] found a secret arsenal of weapons. They confiscated homemade submachine guns, an automatic weapon, a rifle and ammunition. Nine fighters who owned the weapons were detained as well. Colonel-General Shatalin, commander of the USSR MVD troops, who is staying these days in Stepanakert, stressed at a meeting with personnel that he links his hope for the stabilization of the situation in the region with the work of the Azerbaijan and Armenian parliaments as well as with the Union treaty which is being elaborated.

Ter-Petrosyan Refutes Media Claims

LD2408174290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1600 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Yerevan 24 Aug (Armenpress-TASS)—Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan today refuted reports broadcast by the USSR's mass media. Addressing a session of the republican Supreme Soviet, he accused a number of newspapers and the Vremya television news program of misleading the Soviet public.

Thus, he denied a report by the newspaper IZVESTIYA on 24 August that in the town of Dilizhan unknown persons had attempted to seize the armored personnel carrier escorting him. In actual fact, Levon Ter-Petrosyan had been flying by helicopter. The same article states that the Armenian leadership had agreed to create a five kilometer guerrilla-free zone along the border with

Azerbaijan. The fact of the matter was, stressed Levon Ter-Petrosyan, that Armenia had agreed only to discuss this question once the road linking Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia is opened. Reports that Armenian extremists suffered 50 dead and 100 wounded are likewise false.

Today, too, following a call from Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov to protect Azerbaijan against attacks by Armenian guerrillas, a number of USSR people's deputies have sent a statement to the USSR president. While condemning actions that result in the death of people, they ask why it is that Ayaz Mutalibov remains silent when organized crimes are perpetrated in Azerbaijan? If the leaders of that republic condemn the USSR president's inactivity, let them set an example by confiscating the enormous stockpiles of weapons in their own republic.

The statement emphasizes the need for universal fulfilment of the USSR president's decree on confiscating weapons and disbanding illegal armed formations.

'Guerrillas' Remain on Border

LD2408181890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO]: tension continues. AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent Shulman reports from Stepanakert that a secret arsenal was discovered today in the autonomous oblast by military personnel of the Internal Troops, members of an operational investigation group of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and local law enforcement bodies. Among the arms confiscated were combat and makeshift automatic weapons, a carbine, hunting rifles, and ammunition.

A report issued by the commandant's office in the emergency region says nine guerrillas, to whom the arms belonged, have been detained. There are other examples, too, which testify of attempts made to destabilize the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, said Colonel Ovchinnikov, acting commandant of the emergency region. There are still problems on the border with Azerbaijan, as there are still concentrations of groups of guerrillas from Armenia who try to infiltrate into the territory of the autonomous oblast. Our task is to avert a dangerous turn in the development of the the interethnic conflict.

In accordance with an order by the USSR minister of internal affairs, measures have been worked out to implement the decree of the USSR president on banning armed formations and the confiscation of illegal arms. [passage omitted]

Ter-Petrosyan Meets Deputies

NC2408190090 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan spoke to the deputies today and briefed them on the meetings he had in Idzhevan district yesterday concerning the incidents in three bordering villages in Noyemberyan. He pointed out that the meetings were attended by Vazgen Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Internal Affairs Commission; Valeriy Badamyants, chairman of the Armenian State Security Committee; Levon [name indistinct], [word indistinct] of internal affairs on our side, and by Colonel-General Patrikeyev, commander-in-chief of the Transcaucasus Military District; and Colonel-General Shatalin, commander of the Interior Security Forces; as well as [name indistinct], chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Repubic State Security Committee on the other.

During the discussions, Levon Ter-Petrosyan pointed out, all aspects of the fighting were clarified, and the two sides accepted that the incident was completely baseless and artificially created and thus could not have been a serious reason for forces to be concentrated there. Such concentrations can be (?exploited) by the Azerbaijanis who have [word indistinct] and left unanswered the proposals on returning the (?hostages and are) portraying the [word indistinct] concentration of armed brigades as the threat of an aggression by Armenia against Azerbaijan. This once again points to the unwise acts by the armed brigades and to the need for a decisive end to such acts.

He then pointed out that during the meeting it was stipulated that from now on the military authorities should rapidly (?interfere) and to [words indistinct], in order to prevent clashes. In view of this, the Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry's Internal Troops are heading toward Noyemberyan in order to ensure the security there. These forces are [word indistinct] by the militia.

By pointing to the dispatch of the Internal Troops to Noyemberyan, Levon Ter-Petrosyan pointed out that they should only defend law and order and that in the case of [word indistinct] illegal acts, they should receive the approval of the parliament and its help if possible.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan stated that the problem of the creation of a defense belt by the Soviet military units has not yet been solved since neither the central government nor Azerbaijan has accepted the Armenian Republic's demand that free movement be ensured on the Goris-Lachin-Stepanakert route, which is the only artery linking Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and Armenia. The stipulations agreed upon during the meeting in Idzhevan are aimed at entirely ensuring the republic's northern districts, especially the security of the Armenians in Noyemberyan. [passage omitted]

Interal Troops Arrive 25 Aug

LD2508154390 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Interior Ministry Troops have arrived in the three Armenian areas bordering on Azerbaijan where Armenian militants have provoked armed clashes. They will set up check and border points there. The troops' commander, Yuriy Shatalin, has reported in an interview to the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA that a five kilometer buffer zone will be created on that border section from Armenia's side. The measure has been requested by the Armenian government to normalize the situation on the frontier between the republics.

Servicemen Asked To Return

NC2508132190 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0600 GMT 25 Aug 90

["Appeal by the military commandant of Yerevan garrison"—radio headline]

[Text] It has recently become common for Armenian servicemen stationed on the territory of the Armenian Republic to abandon their units. Under the present complicated political circumstances in the republic, these young persons often resort to provocative acts such as abandoning their service locations. The military commandant of Yerevan garrison appeals to the servicemen who left their Army units of their own volition to return voluntarily to their units to continue their service and fulfill their constitutional obligations. We also appeal to their parents and to official bodies, directors of the enterprises and organizations, and the republic's workers to assist in the work of returning the servicemen to the Army units to which they have been assigned.

[Signed] Lieutenant-General (?Pishchev).

News Briefing Updates Situation

LD2508172690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1414 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Baku, 25 Aug (AZERINFORM-TASS)—During the past days 15 hail control guns and one rocket launcher have been uncovered on the territory of the border village of Alibeili, Tauz Rayon, and a number of villages of the Kazakh rayon of the Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

Vagif Guseynikov, chairman of the KGB of the Azerbaijan SSR, reported this at a news conference today, after returning from the border regions where Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and subunits of the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs repelled in recent days an onslaught by armed formations from Armenia.

He also reported that, according to the data available, the Armenian population of the border villages where these devices were uncovered has been evacuated.

The command of the Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs whose subunits have been stationed on Azerbaijan's border with Armenia is taking all necessary measures to stabilize the situation, V. Guseynov stressed.

Casualtities Reported

LD2508195490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Report by correspondent M. Mamedov from Kazakhskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Mamedov] After several days of intense shooting, not only by small arms but also by heavy weapons, the quiet here seems somewhat astonishing. We arrived in the village of Baganis Ayrun with detachments of Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. Gunfire from these weapons was aimed at civilian houses. The weapons were seized by the servicemen from terrorists from Armenia. The village has been totally destroyed, there are no inhabitants here, nor are they likely to return soon.

[B. Zyubov, first secretary of Kazakhskiy rayon party committee of Azerbaijan Communist Party] According to preliminary reckonings, the bombarding of Azerbaijani villages by Armenian extremists has caused damage amounting to about 2 million rubles [R] in our rayon; villages have been destroyed, and farms, pumping stations, vineyards have been ruined.

[Mamedov] [video shows groups of men standing around, aerial shots of fires in mountains; meeting in progress] The situation here is acerbated by the fact that about 6,000 refugees from Armenia have arrived here, and not all of them have housing today. Nevertheless it is not this that worries the inhabitants of the rayon today: will peace come to these mountains? That is what worries them.

The leadership of the Azerbaijan KGB held an urgent press conference in Baku today.

[V. Guseynov, chairman of Azerbaijan KGB, addressing press conference] By the end of yesterday, eight hail control guns had been discovered. The day before yesterday, opposite the village of Alibeyli, in Tauzskiy rayon, one missile launcher and seven hail control guns were also discovered. According to the data at our disposal, the mechanisms of these 100-millimeter antiaircraft guns have been removed and torn apart.

What has put us on our guard is that in the case of Kazakhskiy Rayon, before the mass attack upon villages of Kazakhskiy Rayon, neighboring villages—Armenian villages adjacent to the Azerbaijani ones—were evacuated before the attack. That is, this action was in our view planned beforehand. And we observed the same thing in Tauzskiy Rayon.

The command of the Internal Troops, which is stationed in Kazakhskiy Rayon, will today, I expect, make the necessary efforts further to stabilize the situation in this rayon.

[Announcer] I shall add a number of figures here: over the last two and a half years, 946 people have died in interethnic conflicts in our country; 8,652 have been injured; and 4,648 pogroms have been committed. According to the most modest estimates, material damage amounts to about R10 billion. About 60,000 people have left their permanent homes.

Arms Depot Discovered in NKAO

NC2708083390 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 24 Aug 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers report that servicemen of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs troops, employees of the ministry's operations and investigation group, and local law enforcement organs have discovered yet another depot of the bandits in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The illegal weapons stored in the depot, which include carbines and rifles, as well as the combat equipment and homemade instruments also discovered there, have been seized.

Military General Comments

LD2708142290 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] The situation in the Caucasus continues to be tense. Armed clashes between Armenian and Azerbaijani militants continue. Units of the Internal Affairs Ministry force have been sent to the region to stabilize the situation. Units of the Soviet Army are taking part in some operations.

Our correspondent Vladimir Orlov has just returned from the Caucasus. He had meetings there with representatives of the High Command of the Caucasian Military District. Here is what Lieutenant General Aleksandr (Skoriy), the chief of the Political Department of the Caucasian Military District, told him in part.

"The situation in the three Caucasian republics leaves much to be desired. Nevertheless, the Military District Command is taking all possible measures to normalize it. The president's decree banning the formation of armed units not authorized by the Soviet Union's legislation, and stipulating the confiscation of weapons in case of their illegal storage, is an important step taken in this direction. The decree clarifies the policy in relation to armed formations and various unofficial groupings. In this context the sharpest situation has developed in Armenia, where part of the weapons has fallen into the hands of criminals. Naturally, this arouses concern of both the Military District Command and the republic's leadership. In our opinion, this complicated problem can be solved only by peaceful means. There is a need to explain the situation to the local population, and win over healthy, democratic forces to our side. Besides, we have to operate in close contact with the law enforcement bodies. All this will pave the way for the implementation of the president's decree."

When asked about the role and place assigned to Soviet Army units in implementing the president's decree, Gen. (Skoriy) said the following:

"The president's decree authorizes the participation of Defense Ministry units in certain operations when actions by armed formations pose a threat to the security of the population in the states. The main efforts, however, will be aimed at resolving the problem by peaceful means, without the use of force." And finally, our reporter asked Gen. (Skoriy) about the morale of the troops in the Caucasian Military District. Does the command have any problems in view of the fact that there are representatives of Caucasian nationalities amid the personnel? Gen. (Skoriy) said the following:

"There is hardly a unit in the troops of the Caucasian Military District where people of different nationalities, including Caucasian, are not represented. Relations within units are quite normal and healthy."

Latest Incidents Reported

PM2708143090 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel A. Dolgikh dispatch under the "Direct Line" rubric: "More Casualties"]

[Text] Stepanakert—Azerbaijan's NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and neighboring rayons are still the "hottest spots" of the region. In the past 24 hours alone, several incidents involving the use of automatic weapons took place here. Thus, in the morning of 23 August, some unidentified persons fired at a GAZ-53 truck on the way from the settlement of Farukh in Askeranskiy Rayon to the village of Khramort on the Agdam side. Driver A. Babayan was wounded. That evening in the same rayon, two Armenian peasants who were plowing the land by tractor, were fired on. One of them was wounded in the arm.

Incidentally, as is being noted here, Azerbaijani militants started stepping up their activity after the well-known events in the republic's Kazakhskiy Rayon, where Armenian terrorists undertook military action at a number of sections of the border.

Subversive activity has become more frequent on NKAO highways. Three bridges have been blown up, on 10, 16, and 22 August. The last explosion was on the road bridge across the Karkarchay river near Agdam, which was of great economic significance. A great deal of time and resources will be needed to restore the bridges.

All this is destabilizing the situation. But this is what those who inspire and commit terrorist acts want. As is well known, elections to the republic Supreme Soviet and local soviets of people's deputies are scheduled for 30 September in the Azerbaijani SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. Predictions indicate that most of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh will not participate in the elections.

The whole burden and responsibility for maintaining peace in the state of emergency region lies as before on the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops. It must be said that they are controlling the situation quite confidently and have at their disposal reliable information about the situation in the region. On 17 August, Colonel V. Churashov, commandant of the city of Askeran, and his subordinates carried out a successful operation to capture a group of Armenian militants. Nine people were detained, and two submachineguns, a carbine, rifles, and grenades were confiscated.

At the moment the internal troops command is most concerned about a white "Niva" car, which is appearing unexpectedly in various regions of NKAO. Settlements and internal troops' posts have been fired at several times from this "Niva." It has no number plates and is fitted with a "Viola" radio station, which makes it possible to listen in to servicemen's radio conversations, and this car and the people in it are at the moment still invulnerable. The terrorists are being actively sought.

Last night passed without incident.

Ministry Cited on Fighting

LD2508133190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1807 GMT 23 Aug 90

[From "The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Reports program]

[Excerpts] [V.A. Yanchkov, head of the Press Department of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs], [video shows Yanchenkov seated in studio] The main aim of the president's decree on the dissolution of illegal armed formations and the surrender of weapons is to end the pointless bloodshed in the Transcaucasus and to restore peace and good-neighborliness in this region. But Armenian guerrillas are virtually ignoring the president's decree. Not a single firearm was surrendered by them last week, for example. Furthermore, bloody incidents in Armenia proper and on the border between the two republics are becoming ever more fierce and dangerous. On 21 August, an operation was carried out against a large grouping of Armenian guerrillas, numbering about 800 men, near the Azerbaijani village of Baganis-Ayrun. Military helicopters and tanks were used during the operation. As a result, about 50 guerrillas were killed and about 100 wounded. However, these figures are still being verified.

After this strike, large guerrilla forces began withdrawing in two main directions from the operational area, eastwards along the Azerbaijani border, and southwards towards Yerevan. A film crew from the Press Center of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs is now in the Transcaucasus. Today we received their first report. [video shows a main battle tank advancing through a settlement. The date 22 August 1990 is shown on screen. Camera shows buildings with shattered windows and gaping holes in the roof. Close-up of second tank visible by one of these. View of interior of club, which is littered with glass and plaster].

This is Kazakh Rayon of Azerbaijan. Here you see one of three settlements which have come under fire from anti-hail cannon and automatic weapons. This film was taken yesterday. This is the village of Baganis-Ayrun. The club, library, houses, and the border post have been riddled by shells and bullets. People have been hurt. A veritable battle took place here. The attack was sudden and well organized. Senior Lieutanant Aleksey Vladimirovich Lipatov died defending civilians. Risking his life, Captain Skobelev used his armed personnel carrier to evacuate about 20 people from the area being shelled. [passage omitted] The situation in this area of the Transcaucasus is still tense. [passage omitted]

Azerbaijan's Mutalibov Issues Decrees on Pardons

NC2708074990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 24 Aug 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The republic's president, using his constitutional powers to pardon persons who have been convicted by courts in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, has issued decrees pardoning 260 people. Eight of them will not have to serve the remainder of their prison sentences, while 199 will not have to pay the remainder of their fines for causing material damage to the state. In addition, the houses of 53 citizens which had been sequestered by the courts have been returned to their owners.

AZERINFORM correspondent Sariyeva reports on the president's decree in KOMMUNIST and BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY.

Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet To Convene 29 Aug

NC2708074090 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 24 Aug 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers informed the deputies of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] today that the 15th session of the 11th convocation of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet will convene in the meeting hall of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet at 1000 on 29 August.

Deputies should register between 1000 and 1900 at the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium building on 28 August.

Azerbaijan, Lithuania Conclude Cooperation Talks

LD2608055190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] In Baku, a stage of talks to prepare an agreement on economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation between Azerbaijan and Lithuania has ended. A draft document has been prepared which will be considered by the governments of the two republics in the near future. The sphere of their mutual interests is broad. The Baltic country gets from its southern partner cable, chemical, and machine-building products, and supplies electro-technical goods and agricultural produce. The potential of both republics makes it possible to significantly expand the volume of their mutual trade and to make more flexible use of opportunities to expand functioning industrial capacities.

Central Asia

Kirghiz Communist Party Holds Plenum 25 Aug

LD2508155690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0808 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Frunze, 25 Aug (KIRTAG-TASS)—Issues associated with the present activities of the republican party organization were discussed by participants in a plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia which ended its work in Frunze today.

A.M. Masaliyev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party, delivered the report "The Results of the 28th CPSU Congress and the Program Documents of the Communist Party of Kirghizia." The report and the addresses by the participants in the plenum dealt with the realization of the right of the republic's Communist Party to independence with the new program for its activity in which the main attention is being devoted to values common to all mankind, social aspects, and strengthening democracy.

The draft of the status of the republic's Communist Party and questions of the reorganization of the apparat of the Central Committee, oblast party committees, city party committees, and rayon party committees and the establishment of commissions of the Communist Party of Kirghizia were examined.

A proportion of these issues will be submitted to the 19th Congress of the republic's Communist Party, whose second stage is planned for 30 August of this year.

The participants in the plenum also discussed the situation in Osh Oblast.

Kirghizia's Sovereignty Future Analyzed

LD2508222290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Frunze, 25 Aug (TASS)—Local observers are of the view that the Kirghiz legislature, the session of which is to discuss the issue of national sovereignty, will in the next few days be a barometer for the political life of this Central Asian republic. Documents on sovereignty have already been adopted by the majority of USSR republics. Observers assert, however, that here this issue could lead to serious disagreements.

Following the recent bloody clashes in Osh Oblast, which in June and July left over 200 Kirghiz and Uzbeks dead, the situation here has, externally, stabilized. But the 4 million people of Kirghizia looks to the future with alarm.

Some sociologists suggest that to judge from the rate at which the Russian-speaking population is leaving, by the end of the year about 60,000 will have left Kirghizia. If one considers that the Russophone population accounts for 70 percent of the industrial workers, engineers, and builders, whereas the indigenous population is mainly engaged in agriculture, it is easy to imagine the consequences of this outflow of labor. The national economy is already short 10,000 specialists.

Two months of confrontation between Kirghiz and Uzbeks brought to the surface a whole series of factors previously unknown to this region of Central Asia. In the first place, the emergent democracy manifested itself here in new public associations. During the disturbances the "Osh-Aymagy" and the "Kirghiz Democratic Movement" were more aggressively in evidence. The former "operates" in the south and gained notoriety by its demand for land to be made available for idividual housing only for Kirghiz young people. The latter is in Frunze. The demands put forward by its leaders included the resignation of the republican leadership which they believe to have discredited itself.

In the second place, as the authorities like to mention particularly often, there is the failure to resolve social and economic problems. Official statistics alone give a figure of over 80,000 unemployed in the republic. Unfortunately, having lost confidence in their actions and conscious of the senselessness of using force today, the local authorities talks its way out with mere promises.

But even such an intricate pattern as the pre-crisis situation could not, in the view of observers, shatter the whole complex of universal human and moral principles of the Central Asian peoples. It was something more serious that pushed them to bloodshed, such as the accelerated growth of nationalism.

It should be borne in mind that in the republic today, 60 percent of the indigenous population speaks only its mother tongue. The overwhelming majority of the schools are Kirghiz. Kirghiz higher education teachers have long been conducting classes in the mother tongue, even without special programs. One could add to this that despite the youth of the Kirghiz Academy of Sciences, there are over 20,000 doctors and candidates of science in the republic. The famous writer Chingiz

Aytmatov, member of the Presidential Council, is a Kirghiz academician. Many of the Kirghiz intelligentsia are dissatisfied with what is offered by the state programs for national rebirth.

Their previous history deprived the nomadic Kirghiz of the opportunity of having their own state. They rose no higher than tribal associations, but now, it seems, the time for creating a sovereign Kirghiz state has dawned. The next few days will show what decision the Kirghiz legislature will take. But observers are already sure that the deputies will opt for the sovereignty of their republic.

In this situation, one must not fail to take into account the fact that representatives of 80 nations and ethnic groups of the USSR live in the republic. The nonindigenous population in Kirghizia accounts for over 40 percent of the total. Unless their vital interests are taken into account, the currently smoldering coals of interethnic conflict may once again burst into flame. This, however, is unfortunately forgotten by those who try to force the development of the political situation in the region on the wave of public-meeting euphoria.

Tajik Supreme Soviet Views Sovereignty Declaration

Appeals Chairman Interviewed

LD2408164690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Excerpt] The Tajik Supreme Soviet session continues. The people's deputies discussed today one of the main points on their agenda: the draft declaration of state sovereignty of the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. Our correspondent Muzafar Madzhidov interviewed the chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet commission on legislation, rights, and citizens' appeals. Nurulo Khuvaydulayevich Khuvaydulayev reports;

[Khuvaydulayev] How do we envisage the sovereignty of our republic? This document states that state sovereignty of the Tajik SSR is expressed in the unity and supremacy of state power throughout the territory of the Tajik SSR and its independence in external relations. That comprises the state sovereignty of the Tajik SSR. [passage omitted]

State Sovereignty Adopted

LD2508160190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] A session of the Tajik Supreme Soviet continues in Dushanbe. The main event at the session was a declaration on the state sovereignty of Tajikstan, as a sovereign, multinational state within a renewed Soviet federation. The declaration was adopted late in the evening of 24 August. The declaration stresses the republic's reservation of the right to freely leave the USSR under the procedure established in a Union treaty and legislation based on it. Republican citizenship is retained on the territory of the sovereign state. Each citizen of the Tajik SSR is, at the same time, a citizen of the USSR. The republican deputies still have to consider a number of other important issues.

Further on Declaration

LD2508170690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0804 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 25 Aug (TASS)—The session of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik SSR which is under way here has adopted a declaration on the state sovereignty of Tajikistan as a sovereign, multiethnic state.

Discussion of the political and economic structure of the republic was held in fierce debate between supporters of the government document and the authors of the alternative declaration who favored a confederation; the depoliticization of state bodies, the KGB, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs; and the creation of a national army.

The majority of deputies rejected the proposal to form national military subunits, which, in their opinion, could lead to unforeseeable consequences in conflicts between nationalities. Nor did the idea of depoliticizing the state and judicial bodies, the KGB, and Ministry of Internal Affairs meet with the approval of the majority.

The document that was adopted notes that all citizens, irrespective of their origin, social and property situation, racial and national affiliation, or political and religious views are guaranteed all the rights and freedoms provided for in the constitutions of the Tajik SSR and USSR, and also the universally recognized norms of international law. The declaration stresses the right of the republic to leave the USSR according to the procedure estabished by the Union treaty.

The supremacy of the laws of the Tajik SSR is established throughout the territory of the republic. (?The operation of legislative acts of the USSR which contradict the sovereign rights of Takikistan is suspended by its legislature.)

The declaration that has been adopted, in the words of Kakhar Makhkamov, chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet, is the basis for the elaboration of a new republican constitution and for the conclusion of a Union treaty.

Dzhabbarov Explains Document

LD2608110790 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 0000 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Excerpts] On 24 August, at the second session of the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, the draft declaration on the state sovereignty of the Tajik SSR was debated article by article. [passage omitted]

Dzhabbarov, a people's deputy who was one of the authors of the alternative draft declaration, explained some of its points.

The Supreme Soviet adopted the declaration on the state sovereignty of Tajikistan after considering observations and views and additions of people's deputies in the process of voting on each article. Makhkamov, chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet, congratulated deputies on adopting this important document. [passage omitted]

Turkmenia Declares State Sovereignty 23 Aug

LD2308224290 Moscow TASS in English 2233 GMT 23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Gennadiy Osipov]

[Text] Ashkhabad August 23 TASS—A declaration on state sovereignty was published in Turkmenia. It proclaims this Soviet Central Asian republic a sovereign national state, which exercises full authority on its entire territory.

Legislators voted unanimously to adopt the declaration at a session of parliament, which ended here today.

"The adoption of the declaration on sovereignty is a truly historic event for Turkmenia," said People's Deputy Stanislav Potekhin.

"I am sure that representatives of all ethnic groups living in Turkmenia received this news with satisfaction. The document unambiguously expresses the equality before the law of all citizens of the republic irrespective of the place of their birth, social and property status, race and nationality, sex, education, language, political persuasions, religious beliefs and other circumstances," Potekhin said.

"Now that ethnic relations are strained in the republic and mutual opposition is felt in several areas, this stance is the best guarantor of the stability and prosperity of our republic."

Parliament decided to institute Turkmenia's national holiday—Republic Day.

The parliamentary session also mapped out guidelines for cooperation with Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, discussed the draft convention on economic sovereignty and other important documents envisaging the development of the republic in conditions of a market economy.

Deputy Foreign Minister Pays Visit to Uzbekistan

LD2608100190 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0100 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Nikiforov, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, was recently in Uzbekistan. On instructions from Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, he discussed with Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Foreign Ministry officials the mechanism of an effective and equal cooperation within the framework of the developing federation. Nikiforov held a news conference in Tashkent. During discussions with journalists, he noted that the USSR Foreign Ministry in its contacts with foreign countries puts new emphasis on the interests of the Union republics, providing for them great possibilities in international—economic in particular—cooperation. Great attention is being given to the training of specialists for the Uzbek SSR Foreign Ministry. Nikiforov answered questions from the journalists. Azuimov, foreign minister of the Uzbek SSR, and Kuplyakov, department head in the USSR Foreign Ministry, participated in the news conference.